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THE COLLECTION OF
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PRESENTED BY
HIS WIDOW
Catalina Juliana Mason Myers
HIS DAUGHTER
Cassie Mason Myers Julian-James
HIS DAUGHTER-IN-LAW
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IN MEMORY OF
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AND HIS SON
Theodorus Bailey Myers Mason
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UNITED STATES NAVY
1899

THE

DESCRIPTION

OF

GREECE,

BY

PAUSANIAS.

THE

DESCRIPTION

OF

GREECE,

BY

PAUSANIAS.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GREEK,

WITH NOTES,

In which much of the Mythology of the Greeks is unfolded from a Theory which has been for many Ages unknown.

AND ILLUSTRATED WITH

MAPS AND VIEWS ELEGANTLY ENGRAVED.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. III.

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THE

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GREECE.

BOOK IX.

BŒOTICS.

CHAP. I.

BŒOTIA borders on the Athenians, and the reſt of the Attic land: and the Platæenſes are near the Eleutherenſes. But the whole nation of the Bœotians derived its name from Bœotus, who they ſay was the ſon of Itonus, and the nymph Melanippe. They add, that Itonus was the ſon of Amphictyon. Many of their towns too are denominated from men, but a ſtill greater number from women. The Platæenſes indeed were, as it appears to me, natives of Bœotia from the firſt; but they are of opinion that they derived their name from Platæa, the daughter of a river. It is, however, evident that the Platæenſes reigned here in ancient times. For all Greece formerly was in ſubjection to royal authority, and there was no ſuch thing as a democracy to be found among them. But the Platæenſes do not know any thing of their kings except Aſopus, and Cithæron who was prior

to Asopus: and they say that one of these gave a name to a mountain, and the other to a river. It appears too to me that Platæa, from whom the city was denominated, was the daughter of king Asopus, and not of a river. Before the battle which the Athenians fought at Marathon, the Platæenses performed nothing which deserves to be recorded. But in this battle they assisted the Athenians; and after the irruption of Xerxes into Greece, had the boldness to ascend their ships with the Athenians, and punished in their own dominions Mardonius, the son of Gobryas, who commanded the army of Xerxes. It happened, however, that the Platæenses were twice driven from Bœotia, and again restored to it. For in the war between the Peloponnesians and Athenians, the Lacedæmonians besieged and took Platæa: and when it was restored through the peace which Antalcidas, a Spartan, made between the Greeks and the king of the Persians, and the Platæenses that had fled to Athens returned to their native country, it was again afflicted with the calamities of war. For at the time when open war was proclaimed against the Thebans, but the Platæenses asserted that they were at peace with them, because when Cadmea was taken by the Lacedæmonians, they neither assisted their counsels nor operations; the Thebans, on the contrary, asserted that it was the Lacedæmonians who made the peace, and who afterwards acting contrary to the truce, caused it to be violated by the other cities that had engaged in it.

The Platæenses, therefore, suspecting the intentions of the Thebans, strongly fortified their city; and those that lived at some distance from the city, did not venture into the fields at all hours of the day; but knowing that

the Thebans were accuſtomed to protract their public aſſemblies for a long time, they watched the time of their aſſembling together, and, whenever this happened, cultivated their land in peace. But Neocles the Theban, who was then the chief magiſtrate of the Bœotians, perceiving the crafty conduct of the Platæenſes, ordered each of the Thebans to come into the aſſembly armed, and immediately led them, not in a direct line from Thebes through the fields, but to Hyſia, which is between the Eleutherans and Attica, and where the Platæenſes had no ſpies. This took place about the middle of the day: and the Platæenſes, ſuppoſing that the Thebans were engaged in their aſſembly, came into their fields as uſual, having the gates of the city ſecurely cloſed behind them. The Thebans therefore made the Platæenſes that were within the walls promiſe, that they would leave the city before ſun-ſet; each man bringing with him one, and each woman two garments. At that time, indeed, the Platæenſes were oppreſſed in a manner very different from that which took place formerly through the Lacedæmonians, under the command of Archidamus: for then when they were beſieged they were prevented from leaving the city by a twofold wall; but here the Thebans would not ſuffer them to enter into their walls. This ſecond loſs happened to the Platæenſes, in the third year prior to the battle at Leuctra, and when Aſteus was the Athenian archon. Every part of the city at this time was deſtroyed by the Thebans, except the temples of the gods. But the manner in which the city was taken, became the ſafety of the Platæenſes. For they were, in the firſt place, received by the Athenians; and afterwards Philip being victorious at Chæronea, placed a guard over the Thebans, endea-

voured by every poſſible means to accompliſh their deſtruction, and at laſt reſtored the Platæenſes to their ancient habitations.

CHAP. II.

ON turning a little to the right hand from the ſtraight road of the Platæan land under Cithæron, you will ſee the ruins of Hyſia and Erythræ. Theſe were once cities of the Bœotians; and even now among the ruins of Hyſia there is a temple of Apollo, the half of which is entire, and a ſacred well. According to the Bœotians, formerly thoſe that drank out of this well were endowed with the gift of prophecy. Proceeding from hence into the public road, you will again ſee, on the right hand, that which is called the ſepulchre of Mardonius. Indeed that the dead body of Mardonius could no where be found after the battle in which he fell, is generally acknowledged; nor can they tell by whom he was buried. It appears, however, that Artontes, the ſon of Mardonius, gave great gifts to Dionyſophanes the Epheſian, and to others belonging to the Ionians, that they might not be negligent with reſpect to the interment of Mardonius. And this road leads from Eleutheræ to Platæa. But as you proceed from Megaræ, you will ſee on the right hand a fountain, and a little beyond this a ſtone, which they call the ſtone of Actæon: for they ſay that Actæon uſed to ſleep on this, when he was weary with hunting; and that in this place he ſaw Diana waſhing herſelf in the neighbouring fountain. But Steſichorus Himeræus writes, that Diana threw upon Actæon a ſtag's hide, and thus cauſed him to be ſlain by his dogs, that he might not marry Semele.

Semele. For my own part, I can eaſily believe that Actæon might be torn in pieces by his dogs, without the interference of the goddeſs, in conſequence of their ruſhing furiouſly upon him, without perceiving who he was.

In what part of Cithæron the deſtruction of Pentheus the ſon of Echion happened, or where Oedipus when he was born was expoſed, is not known by any one; though I am not ignorant of the biſected road belonging to the Phocenſes, in which Oedipus ſlew his father. But the mountain Cithæron is ſacred to Jupiter Cithæronius, of which I ſhall ſpeak more copiouſly when my diſcourſe leads me to mention it again. Near the entrance to Platæa, you may perceive the ſepulchres of thoſe that fought againſt the Medes. The other Greeks indeed have one common ſepulchre: but the Lacedæmonians and Athenians that fell in that battle have ſeparate tombs; and upon them there are elegies compoſed by Simonides. Not far from the common ſepulchre of the Greeks, there is an altar of Jupiter Eleutherius. The ſepulchre is made of braſs; but the altar and ſtatue of Jupiter are of white ſtone. Even at preſent, every fifth year, they celebrate the feſtivals called Eleutheria, in which the greateſt rewards are propoſed for the race. They run before the altar armed. The trophy which the Greeks erected for their victory over the Platæenſes, is about fifteen ſtadia diſtant from the city. When you enter the city, in that part which contains the altar and ſtatue of Eleutherian Jupiter, you will ſee the heroic monument of Platæa. What the Platæenſes report concerning her, I have already related. The Platæenſes too have a temple of Juno which deſerves to be inſpected, both for its magnitude, and the ornament of the ſtatues which it contains. On

entering this temple, you will ſee a ſtatue of Rhea preſenting Saturn with a ſtone wrapped in ſwaddling clothes, inſtead of the child of which ſhe had been delivered. They call Juno, *Teleia*, or *the perfect*. There is a large ſtatue of the goddeſs in an upright poſition: both theſe ſtatues are made of Pentelican ſtone, and are the works of Praxiteles. There is another ſtatue of Juno in a ſitting poſture in the ſame temple; and this was made by Callimachus. But they call the goddeſs *Numpheuomene*, or *eſpouſed*, on the following account.

CHAP. III.

THEY ſay, that Juno being angry with Jupiter, on what account it is not known, retired to Eubœa; and Jupiter not being able to appeaſe her, came to Cithæron, who then reigned over the Platæenſes. This Cithæron was not ſecond to any one in craft. He therefore perſuaded Jupiter to make a ſtatue of wood, to place it veiled in a car drawn by two oxen, and publicly aſſert that this was Platæa, the daughter of Aſopus, whom he was going to marry. As ſoon as Juno heard this, ſhe immediately came to the car, and, cutting off the veil, perceived that what ſhe ſuppoſed was a new married lady, was nothing more than a wooden image; and in conſequence of this became reconciled to Jupiter. In remembrance of this reconciliation, they celebrate a feſtival which is called Dædal, becauſe the ancients called wooden ſtatues Dædalian. But it appears to me that this name was uſurped, before Dædalus the ſon of Palamaon was born; and that afterwards, from Dædalian ſtatues Dædalus derived his name,

name. The Platæenſes therefore celebrate this Dædal feſtival, every ſeventh year, as an hiſtorian of this country told me: in reality, however, the interval of time between its celebration is not ſo long. But though I was deſirous of accurately numbering the interval of time from one Dædal feſtival to another, I was not able to accompliſh my deſign. They celebrate this feſtival in the following manner;—There is a grove, which is the greateſt in Bœotia, not far from Alalcomenæ; and in this place there are many ancient oaks. The Platæenſes coming into this grove, place in it portions of boiled fleſh. And they have but little trouble indeed to defend it from other birds, but they are obliged to guard it diligently from the crows; and if any one of theſe birds carries off any portion of the fleſh, they obſerve on what tree it perches, cut down this tree, and make from it a Dædalian ſtatue: for they call the ſtatue thus made Dædalian.

This feſtival the Platæenſes celebrate privately, and call it the leſſer Dædala: for the Bœotians celebrate the greater Dædala in a very public manner, every ſixtieth year. They ſay that the feſtival was omitted for ſo long a time when the Platæenſes were driven from their native country. And in the leſſer Dædala, indeed, they prepare fourteen ſtatues every year; and theſe the Platæenſes, Coronæi, Theſpienſes, Tanagræi, Chæronenſes, Orchomenii, Lebadenſes, and Thebans, take away by lot. For theſe people thought proper to be reconciled with the Platæenſes, to partake of their common aſſembly, and to ſend a victim to the Dædal feſtival, when Thebes was reſtored by Caſſander the ſon of Antipater. But thoſe cities which are of leſs eſtimation beſtow their gifts upon this feſtival according to lot. They carry the image to Aſo-

pus, and, having placed it in a car, commit it to the care of a bride-maid. After this, too, according to lots, they drive their cars from the river to the top of the Theban Cithæron. On the ſummit of this mountain an altar is prepared for them; and this altar is raiſed in the following manner:—They aptly join together ſquare pieces of wood, juſt as if they were raiſing a ſtructure of ſtones; and afterwards carry to the top of the mountain, twigs piled on theſe pieces of wood. But the cities ſacrifice a cow of a proper age to Juno, and a bull to Jupiter, the victims being filled with wine and odoriferous herbs; and at the ſame time place the Dædala upon the altar. More wealthy individuals ſacrifice a cow and an ox; but the poorer ſort ſacrifice ſmall ſheep. They burn all the victims in a ſimilar manner, and the altar is, at the ſame time, burnt with them. I know that this flame is prodigious, and may be ſeen at a great diſtance. Beyond the ſummit of the mountain upon which they raiſe the altar, after you have deſcended about fifteen ſtadia, you will ſee the cavern of the nymphs called Citharonides. This cavern they denominate *Sphregidion*: and they ſay that formerly the nymphs uſed to propheſy in this cavern.

CHAP. IV.

THE Platæenſes too have a temple of Minerva *Areia*, or *the martial*, which was raiſed from the ſpoils given to the Platæenſes by the Athenians after the battle at Marathon. The ſtatue of the goddeſs is made of wood, and is gilt, except the face, and the extremities of the hands and feet, which are of Pentelican ſtone. Its magnitude

is

is nearly equal to that brazen ſtatue of Minerva which the Athenians dedicated in their tower from the Marathonian ſpoils. Phidias too made this ſtatue of Minerva for the Platæenſes. In the temple there are pictures painted by Polygnotus, viz. Ulyſſes deſtroying the ſuitors; and the expedition, prior to this, of Onatas to the Argive Thebes. Theſe pictures are in the veſtibule of the walls. At the foot of the goddeſs there is a ſtatue of Arimneſtus, who was the general of the Platæenſes in the engagement againſt Mardonius; and, prior to this, in the battle at Marathon. Among the Platæenſes too there is a temple of Ceres Eleuſinia, and a ſepulchre of Leitus. This Leitus was the only one of all the Bœotian commanders, that returned home from the Trojan war. But Mardonius, and the horſe which he commanded, corrupted the fountain Gargaphia, becauſe the army of the Greeks which ſtood oppoſite to them drank the water of this fountain. Afterwards, however, the water was purified by the Platæenſes. As you proceed from Platæa to Thebes, you will ſee the river Peroe. They ſay that Peroe was the daughter of Aſopus. But before you paſs over the Aſopus, on turning by the ſide of the river to the lower parts of the country, and travelling to the diſtance of about forty ſtadia, you will arrive at the ruins of Scolus. Among theſe ruins there is an imperfect temple of Ceres and Proſerpine, with half ſtatues of the goddeſſes. Even now the Aſopus ſeparates the land of the Platæenſes from that of the Thebans.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

THEY say that the first inhabitants of Thebes were the Ectenæ, whose king was Ogygus, a native of the place; and from whom many of the poets call Thebes Ogygiæ. They add, that these people were destroyed by a pestilence; and that the Hyantes and Aones, who, as it appears to me, were Bœotians and not foreigners, inhabited Thebes after the Ectenæ. But Cadmus and the army of the Phœnicians attacking these places, the Hyantes were vanquished, and fled the following night. Cadmus however suffered the Aones, who implored his protection, to remain, and mingle themselves with the Phœnicians. The Aones therefore fixed their habitations in different towns; but Cadmus built the city, which is even at present called Cadmea. The city, however, being afterwards increased, Cadmea became the tower of the lower Thebes. The marriage of Cadmus was certainly very illustrious, if, according to the assertion of the Greeks, he married Harmony, the daughter of Venus and Mars. His daughters too were renowned; for Semele was pregnant from Jupiter, and Ino was made one of the divinities of the sea. But during the reign of Cadmus, the Spartans, Cthonios, Hyperenor, Pelorus, and Udæus, were very powerful through his means. For Cadmus thought proper to make Echion his son-in-law, on account of his valour: and with respect to these men, as I cannot gain any farther intelligence about them, I must assent to the fable, which says, that they were called Spartans, from the manner in which they were produced. After the migration of Cadmus to the

Illyrians,

Illyrians, and Encheleæ, a people of Illyria, his ſon Polydore reigned. Pentheus the ſon of Echion was powerful both through the dignity of his origin, and the friendſhip of the king; but as he was an inſolent and impious man, he was puniſhed by Bacchus for his impious behaviour towards him. Labdacus was the ſon of Polydore; and Polydore on his death-bed delivered up Labdacus and his kingdom to Nycteus. Other particulars belonging to this affair I have related in my deſcription of Sicyonia; I mean, after what manner Nycteus died, and how the guardianſhip of his ſon was committed to Lycus the brother of Nycteus, and all the power of the Thebans.

Lycus indeed delivered up the reins of government to Labdacus when he was of age; but Labdacus dying not long after this, Lycus took Laius the ſon of Labdacus into his protection. And while he was again acting the part of a guardian, Amphion and Zethus collecting together an army, invaded the country; and thoſe who were careful leſt the race of Cadmus ſhould become extinct, ſecretly conveyed Laius away. The ſons of Antiope, however, vanquiſhed Lycus in battle, and taking poſſeſſion of the kingdom, joined the lower city with Cadmea, and called the whole Thebes, on account of their alliance with the nymph Thebe, the daughter of Prometheus. Homer, in the following verſes in the Odyſſey, confirms the truth of this account;

> Tho' bold in open field, they yet ſurround
> The town with walls, and mound inject on mound;
> Here ramparts ſtood, there tow'rs roſe high in air,
> And there thro' ſeven wide portals ruſh'd the war.

However, he makes no mention of Amphion raiſing the walls

walls by the harmony of his lyre. But Amphion obtained his reputation in muſic, in conſequence of having learnt from the Lydians, through his alliance to Tantalus, the Lydian harmony, and inventing three chords in addition to the four which had been already diſcovered. The author, however, of the verſes upon Europa ſays, that Amphion firſt learned the uſe of the lyre from Mercury, and that he drew along ſtones and wild beaſts by his harmony. But Myron the Byzantian, who wrote heroic verſes and elegies, ſays, that Amphion was the firſt that raiſed an altar to Mercury; and that for this he received a lyre from the god. It is alſo ſaid that Amphion is puniſhed in Hades for reviling Latona and her ſons. This puniſhment of Amphion is mentioned in the poem called Minyas, and which is compoſed in common upon Amphion and Thamyris.

But after the houſe of Amphion was deſtroyed by peſtilence, and Zethus had fallen a victim to grief, in conſequence of his wife having ſlain his ſon for a certain offence, then the Thebans gave up the government to Laius. And Laius, during his reign, married Jocaſta. He received too an oracle from Delphos, which told him that if he had a ſon by Jocaſta, that ſon would be the means of his death. In conſequence of this he expoſed Oedipus as ſoon as he was born: and Oedipus, as ſoon as he arrived at manhood, ſlew his father, and married his mother. But that Oedipus had no children by his mother, is evident from the following verſes of Homer in the Odyſſey;

> There too Jocaſta of a beauteous mien
> I ſaw, the fam'd inceſtuous Theban queen;
> With her own ſon ſhe join'd in nuptial bands,
> Tho' father's blood imbru'd his murd'rous hands:

The

The gods and men the dire offence deteſt;
The gods with all their furies rend his breaſt.

For how could the report of his wickedneſs be immediately aboliſhed, if he had four children by Jocaſta? Theſe children indeed were the offspring of Euryganea the daughter of Hyperphas: and this is evinced by the author of the verſes called Oedipodia. Onaſias painted for the Platæenſes Euryganea, with a ſorrowful countenance, on account of the battle between her ſons. But Polynices, while Oedipus was yet alive and reigned, left Thebes, fearing leſt the imprecations of his father ſhould be accompliſhed. In conſequence of this he came to Argos, and married the daughter of Adraſtus; but after the death of Oedipus, returned through the perſuaſions of his brother Eteocles to Thebes. Here, however, a diſagreement ariſing between him and his brother, he was again exiled. After this he requeſted of Adraſtus to furniſh him with an army againſt his brother. This Adraſtus complied with: but Polynices loſt his army; and the two brothers engaging each other in a ſingle combat, were both ſlain.

Laodamas the ſon of Eteocles reigned after his father: but till he was of age the government of the kingdom, and the care of his education was committed to Creon the ſon of Menoeceus. When Laodamas, therefore, was of a proper age, and took upon him the royal authority, the Argives led a ſecond army againſt Thebes. The Thebans met this army at Gliſſas, and when they came to an engagement, Laodamas ſlew Ægialeus the ſon of Adraſtus. But the Argives being victorious in this engagement, Laodamas, with the Thebans that followed him, fled

fled on the following night to the Illyrians: and the Argives delivered up Thebes, which they had taken, to Therſander the ſon of Polynices. As a great part, however, of the forces which Agamemnon led againſt Troy, wandered during their voyage from their deſtined courſe, and were ſhipwrecked about Myſia, it happened that Therſander, who in valour ſurpaſſed moſt of the Greeks in that war, was ſlain by Telephus. But the ſepulchre of Therſander is in the plains of Caicus, in the city Elæa. This ſepulchre is of ſtone, and is in that part of the forum which is in the open air; in which place, as they ſay, the inhabitants perform funeral ſacrifices in honour of him. After the death of Therſander, a ſecond fleet being fitted out againſt Paris and the Trojans, the command of it was given to Peneleus: for Tiſamenus the ſon of Therſander was not yet old enough for this purpoſe. But Peneleus being ſlain by Eurypylus the ſon of Telephus, they choſe Tiſamenus for their king, who was the ſon of Therſander and Demonaſſa the daughter of Amphiaraus. This Tiſamenus was free from the imprecations of Laius and Oedipus; but Auteſion the ſon of Tiſamenus did not eſcape them, but was compelled on this account, in compliance with an oracle, to migrate to the Dorienſes. After the departure of Auteſion, Damaſichthon, the grandſon of Peneleus the ſon of Opheltes, was choſen king. Ptolemy was the ſon of this Damaſichthon, and Xanthus of Ptolemy, I mean that Xanthus whom Andropompus ſlew in a ſingle combat, by ſtratagem, and not in a lawful manner. Afterwards it appeared better to the Thebans to be governed by many, and not to commit the adminiſtration of affairs to one man alone.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

WITH reſpect to the proſperous or adverſe events of their wars, I have found the following to be the moſt remarkable particulars. They were vanquiſhed by the Athenians in that battle, in which they aſſiſted the Platæenſes, who fought for the boundaries of their land. They were a ſecond time too vanquiſhed at Platæa by the ſame Athenians, in conſequence of ſeeming to prefer the friendſhip of Xerxes to that of the Greeks. The common people, however, were not culpable in this particular: for at that time an oligarchy was eſtabliſhed among the Thebans, and not that form of adminiſtration which was natural to their country. If therefore the ſons of Piſiſtratus had then tyrannized over the Athenians, there can be no doubt but that the Athenians themſelves would have been attached to the Perſians, and on this account would have been culpable as well as the Thebans. Afterwards, however, the Athenians were vanquiſhed by the Thebans at Delius, in the country of the Tanagræans: and Hippocrates the ſon of Ariphron who commanded the Athenian army was ſlain, together with a great part of his forces. But the Lacedæmonians, immediately after the departure of the Mede, were upon friendly terms with the Thebans, till the Peloponneſians warred on the Athenians. This war however being finiſhed, and the fleet of the Athenians diſſolved, the Thebans not long after, together with the Corinthians, took up arms againſt the Lacedæmonians: but being vanquiſhed in a battle about Corinth, and in Chæronea, they afterwards obtained at

Leuctra

Leuctra a victory the moſt illuſtrious of all the Grecian victories we are acquainted with. Here they put an end to the *Decadarchs*, or *governors of companies, conſiſting each of ten men*, which the Lacedæmonians had eſtabliſhed in their cities, and to thoſe prefects which they call *Harmoſtai*. After this, they carried on for ten years the Phocic war, which is called by the Greeks, *Sacred*. But I have already ſhewn in my account of the Attic affairs, that the ſlaughter at Chæronea was the ſource of calamity to all Greece: and it was eminently afflictive to the Thebans. For they were obliged to place a guard within the walls of their city; which, however, after the death of Philip, and during the reign of Alexander, they drove out of their city. But, for this action, divinity gave them tokens of approaching deſtruction. For, during the time of the battle at Leuctra, the ſpiders in the temple of Ceres Theſmophoros wove white webs about the doors; but when Alexander and the Macedonians attacked their dominions, their webs were found to be black. It is alſo ſaid, that divinity rained aſhes on the Attic land, in the year prior to that in which Sylla led an army againſt the Athenians, and by this means cauſed them to ſuffer in ſuch an eminent degree.

CHAP. VII.

THE Thebans, therefore, being then driven from their country by Alexander, fled to Athens, and were afterwards reſtored to it by Caſſander the ſon of Antipater. Indeed the Athenians aſſiſted the Thebans with the

greateſt alacrity in reſtoring Thebes to its priſtine ſtate; and they were joined in this by the Meſſenians and Megalopolitans. But it appears to me that Caſſander rebuilt Thebes, principally through his hatred of Alexander: for he endeavoured totally to deſtroy all his houſe. Thus he delivered up Olympias the mother of Alexander to be ſtoned to death, by thoſe Macedonians who violently hated her, and deſtroyed by poiſon Hercules the ſon of Alexander by Barſina, and Alexander his ſon by Roxana. He did not, however, depart rejoicing from the preſent life; for he was ſeized with a dropſy, through which he was devoured by vermin. Of his ſons, too, the eldeſt, Philip, not long after he began his reign, was attacked with a tabid diſeaſe. Antipater who ſucceeded him ſlew his mother Theſſalonice, who was the daughter of Philip the ſon of Amyntas by Nicaſipolis. His reaſon for committing this parricide, was her extreme fondneſs of Alexander, the youngeſt of Antipater's ſons. Alexander, however, calling to his aſſiſtance Demetrius the ſon of Antigonus, ſlew Antipater, and thus revenged the murder of his mother.

Some god, therefore, deſervedly puniſhed Caſſander for his guilty conduct. However, all the ancient incloſure of Thebes was reſtored to the Thebans by Caſſander. But it was requiſite, that they ſhould afterwards taſte of the greateſt evils. For when Mithidrates warred on the Romans, the Thebans aſſiſted him in this war, for no other reaſon, as it appears to me, than their friendſhip to the Athenians. But when Sylla led his army into Bœotia, the Thebans were terrified, and, immediately changing their intentions, joined themſelves to the Romans. Sylla, however, did not lay aſide his anger againſt them, but in-

vented other things deſtructive to their proſperity, and laid a fine on half their land; for which conduct this was his pretext: When the war againſt Mithidrates commenced, Sylla was in great want of money. Hence, he collected together the ſacred offerings from Olympia and Epidarus; and from the temple of the Delphic Apollo, all that was left by the Phocenſes. This treaſure he diſtributed among his ſoldiers. But to the gods, inſtead of the riches which he had taken from them, he gave the half of the Theban land. The Romans, however, afterwards reſtored to the Thebans the land which had been taken from them. But in other reſpects they were reduced by Sylla to a very calamitous condition. And even at preſent the lower city is entirely deſolate, except the temples of the gods: but the Thebans dwell in their tower, which is no longer called Cadmea.

CHAP. VIII.

WHEN you have paſſed over the Aſopus, and have proceeded to about the diſtance of ten ſtadia from the city, you will arrive at the ruins of Potniæ, among which there is a grove of Ceres and Proſerpine. The ſtatues near the river are called by the inhabitants the goddeſſes Potniæ. At ſtated times they perform other eſtabliſhed ceremonies in honour of theſe, and ſend ſucking pigs into buildings which they call Megara. Theſe pigs, they ſay, are ſeen at Dodona on the ſummer of the following year: which report may perhaps be credited by ſome. There is here too a temple of Bacchus *Aigobolas*, or *the piercer*

piercer of goats. For it once happened, that while the inhabitants of this place were ſacrificing, they became ſo outrageous through intoxication, that they ſlew the prieſt of Bacchus. As a puniſhment for this action, they were afflicted with a peſtilent diſeaſe; and at the ſame time were ordered by the Delphic Oracle to ſacrifice to Bacchus a boy in the flower of his youth. However, not many years after this, they ſay, that the god changed the ſacrifice of a boy for that of a goat. Among the Potniæ, too, there is a well; and they report, that the horſes which are natives of Potniæ become mad by drinking this water. As you go from hence to Thebes, you will ſee on the right hand of the road an incloſure, not very large, and in it certain pillars. They are of opinion that the earth opened in this place to Amphiaraus; and they ſay, that birds will not ſit on theſe pillars, nor graſs grow, nor any tame or ſavage animal feed in this place.

But the Thebans, in the incloſure of their ancient wall, have ſeven gates, which remain even at preſent. I have heard that one of theſe gates was called Electra, from Electra, the ſiſter of Cadmus, and another Prœtæ, from Prœtus, a native of this place. I have not, however, been able to find at what time this Prœtus lived. They call the third gate Neita, becauſe Amphion is ſaid to have invented that chord in a lyre called *Nete*, before theſe gates. I have alſo heard, that the ſon of Zethus, the brother of Amphion, was called Neis; and that from him this gate was denominated Neida. They denominate the gate Crenæ from a fountain; but the gate Hypiſte, from its proximity to the temple of Jupiter *the higheſt*. Beſides theſe gates there is another gate which is called Ogygia; and the laſt gate is denominated Omolois. It appears to

me, that this laſt name is the moſt recent of all, and Ogygia the moſt ancient. They ſay, too, that the gate Omolois was thus denominated on the following account: When the Thebans were vanquiſhed by the Argives near Gliſas, many of them fled, together with Laodamas the ſon of Eteocles. Of theſe, one part was unwilling to take refuge among the Illyrians, but turning towards the Theſſalians, took up their reſidence in Omoloe, which is the moſt fertile and well watered mountain of all that Theſſaly contains. Afterwards, being recalled to their native country by Therſander the ſon of Polynices, they called the gate through which they entered into the city, Omolois, from the mountain Omoloe. But as you come from Platæa, you will enter Thebes through the gate called Electra. They ſay, that Capaneus the ſon of Hipponous was ſtruck with lightning at this gate, as he was attacking the walls with more vehemence than uſual.

CHAP. IX.

THIS war, indeed, which the Argives waged, deſerves, in my opinion, to be celebrated beyond all the wars of the Greeks, during the heroic ages, as they are called. For the war of the Eleuſinians againſt the other Athenians, and in like manner of the Thebans againſt the Minyæ, almoſt after one engagement, terminated in concord, and treaties of peace. But the army of the Argives came into the middle of Bœotia, from the middle of Peleponneſus; and Adraſtus collected together his allied forces from Arcadia, and from the Meſſenians. In a ſimilar manner,

ner, mercenary troops were ſent to the Thebans from the Phocenſes, and by the Phlegyians from Minyas. An engagement therefore taking place near Iſmenus, the Thebans were vanquiſhed, and fled within their walls. But as the Peloponneſians were unacquainted with the art of beſieging cities, and attacked the walls of Thebes more under the influence of anger than the direction of ſcience, the Thebans ſlew many of them from their walls, and afterwards leaving their city, by a ſudden incurſion broke the enemy's ranks, and cut to pieces the whole army except Adraſtus. This victory however coſt the Thebans dear: and hence, victories obtained with a great loſs are called Cadmean victories. Not many years after this, thoſe whom the Greeks call *Epigoni*, or *ſuch as are of poſterior origin*, with Therſander for their leader, warred on Thebes. But it is evident, that not only the Argives, Meſſenians, and Arcadians, joined themſelves to their ſtandards, but that the Corinthians and Megarenſes came to their aſſiſtance. The Thebans however were aſſiſted by the cities bordering on Thebes; and a ſharp engagement took place between the two armies near Gliſas. Of the Thebans, many after they were vanquiſhed fled with Laodamas, and the reſt fortified themſelves in their city. And this is the war which is celebrated in verſe. Calænus, making mention of theſe verſes, ſays that they were compoſed by Homer; and many celebrated perſons are of the ſame opinion. Indeed, I conſider theſe verſes as next in excellence to the Iliad and Odyſſey. And thus much concerning the war, which the Argives and Thebans waged for the ſake of the ſons of Oedipus.

CHAP. X.

NOT far from the gates there is a common ſepulchre of thoſe who fell in the engagement againſt Alexander and the Macedonians. Near it they ſhew a place, in which they ſay (if it may be believed) the teeth of the dragon which was ſlain by Cadmus by the fountain were ſown, and became men. There is a hill on the right hand of the gates, which is ſacred to Apollo; and both the hill and the god are called Iſmenios, from the river Iſmenus flowing near this place. The firſt ſtone ſtatues which preſent themſelves to the view on entering the city, are thoſe of Minerva and Mercury, whom they call *Pronaoi*, or *belonging to veſtibules*. That of Mercury was made by Phidias, and that of Minerva by Scopas. After this there is a temple, which contains a ſtatue equal in magnitude to that of the Branchidæ, and in no reſpect different in its form. Whoever ſees one of theſe ſtatues, and knows whom it was made by, will, on beholding the other, perceive, without any great ſkill, that its artificer was Canachus. This ſtatue, however, belonging to the Branchidæ is made of braſs, but this of Apollo Iſmenios of cedar. In the ſame place too there is a ſtone, upon which, they ſay, Manto the daughter of Tireſias ſat. This ſtone is placed before the veſtibule of the temple, and is called at preſent *the ſeat of Manto*.

On the right hand of the temple there are ſtone ſtatues, which they ſay are images of Henioche and Pyrrha the daughters of Creon, who reigned while he was the guardian

guardian of Laodamas the ſon of Eteocles. I know, too, that at preſent the Thebans chooſe as the annual prieſt of Apollo Iſmenios, a boy illuſtrious for his origin, and of great beauty and ſtrength. This boy is called *Daphnophoros*, becauſe *he is crowned with laurel*. But I am not certain whether all the boys that are crowned with laurel dedicate a brazen tripod to Apollo. It appears to me, that all are not obliged to do this by law; for I did not ſee many tripods dedicated here. The wealthier ſort of theſe boys however dedicate tripods: and among theſe, that which Amphitryon dedicated, with Hercules on it crowned with laurel, is the moſt illuſtrious, both for its antiquity and the renown of the perſon by whom it was ſent as an offering. Beyond this temple of Iſmenian Apollo you will ſee a fountain, which they ſay is ſacred to Mars: and they add, that a dragon is ſtationed here by Mars as the guardian of the fountain. Near this is the tomb of Caanthus, who they ſay was the brother of Melia, and the ſon of Ocean; and who was ſent by his father to ſeek his ſiſter that was forcibly taken away. But when he found that ſhe was in the power of Apollo, and that in conſequence of this he was not able to take her away, he had the boldneſs to ſet on fire the grove of Apollo, which they call Iſmenion; and for this action, as the Thebans ſay, the god ſlew him with his arrows. They ſay, too, that Apollo had two ſons by Melia, Tenerus and Iſmenius; and that Apollo endowed Tenerus with a prophetic power, but the river was denominated from Iſmenius. However, prior to the birth of Iſmenius this river was called Ladon.

CHAP. XI.

ON the left hand of the gate which is called Electra, are the ruins of a houſe which they ſay was inhabited by Amphitryon when he fled from Tiryntha, on account of the death of Electryon. The bed-chamber of Alcmene is yet to be ſeen among theſe ruins. They ſay, that this bed-chamber was built for Amphitryon by Trophonius and Agamedes; and that the following epigram was once inſcribed on it: Amphitryon, when he deſigned to marry Alcmene, choſe this for his bed-chamber, which was made by Ancaſius, Trophonius, and Agamedes. The Thebans, too, ſhew the ſepulchre of the children of Hercules by Megara: but the particulars which they relate concerning their death, do not in any reſpect correſpond with thoſe given by Steſichorus Himereus and Panyaſis in their poems. The Thebans farther add, that Hercules, through his inſanity, would have ſlain Amphitryon himſelf, but that before he could accompliſh this he fell aſleep through the blow of a ſtone; and that this ſtone was thrown by Minerva, whom they call *Sophroniſter*, or *the reſtrainer*. In this place too there are images of women on a pillar, whoſe form is obſcured through age. Theſe images the Thebans call *Pharmakides*, or *witches*; and they ſay, that they were ſent by Juno in order to prevent Alcmene from being delivered. However, Iſtoris the daughter of Tireſias deceived them while they were acting in this manner by Alcmene, by the following means: From a place whence ſhe could eaſily be heard by the witches, ſhe cried out with a loud voice, that Alcmene was delivered; and in conſe-

quence

quence of their being deceived in this manner, Alcmene was in reality delivered.

There is a temple here of Hercules with a ſtone ſtatue, which they call *Promachos*, or *the defender*: and this was made by the Thebans, Xenocratus and Eubius. But the Thebans are of opinion, that the ancient wooden ſtatue in this place was made by Dædalus: and it appears to me, that this was really the caſe. They ſay that Dædalus dedicated this ſtatue on account of the benevolent interpoſition of divinity in his favour. For when he had conſtructed for himſelf and his ſon Icarus a ſmall ſhip, and had diſcovered the uſe of ſails, which were unknown before, ſo that he was able, in conſequence of being driven by a proſperous wind, to outſtrip the veſſel of Minos, he himſelf eſcaped in ſafety: but they ſay that Icarus, being unſkilled in the art of piloting the ſhip, overturned it, and was by this means ſwallowed up by the waves, and driven to an iſland of Pergamus, the name of which is at preſent unknown. They add, that Hercules met with the dead body, and, knowing it, buried it, where even now there is a heap of earth not very large, in the promontory which extends to the Ægean ſea. But the iſland and the ſea about it were denominated from Icarus. In the roof of this temple Praxiteles carved for the Thebans many of the twelve labours of Hercules. What he has omitted, are the birds called Stymphalides, and the purification of the Elean land: and inſtead of theſe he has repreſented the wreſtling of Hercules with Antæus. But Thraſybulus the ſon of Lycus, and thoſe Athenians who together with him diſſolved the oppreſſive government of the thirty tyrants (for they deſcended from Thebes for this purpoſe), dedicated in the temple of Hercules

coloſſal

coloſſal ſtatues of Minerva and Hercules, of Pentelican ſtone, and made by Alcamenes. A gymnaſium and ſtadium too of Hercules are contiguous to this temple. But above the ſtone Sophroniſter there is an altar of Apollo, who is called *Spondios:* and this altar is raiſed from the aſhes of victims. Divination from omens is here eſtabliſhed; which I know the Smyrnæans uſe beyond all the Greeks. For in the outward incloſure of their walls they have a temple, raiſed for the purpoſe of receiving omens.

CHAP. XII.

THE Thebans too, in ancient times, ſacrificed bulls to Apollo *Polios*, or *the hoary*. But it once happened in this feſtival, that when the time for ſlaying the victim was at hand, and thoſe that were ſent for the bull did not come as they were expected, the ſacrificers met with a car drawn by two oxen, one of which they ſacrificed to the god; and from this circumſtance they afterwards thought proper to ſacrifice labouring oxen. The following circumſtance likewiſe is related by the Thebans: When Cadmus came from the Delphi to Phocis, he followed an ox as his guide. This ox was bought of the herdſmen of Pelagos, and had on each of its ſides a white ſpot reſembling the full moon. It was neceſſary, therefore, that Cadmus and his army, by the command of an oracle, ſhould fix their reſidence in that place in which the ox when weary laid itſelf down to reſt. This place the Thebans exhibit even now: and in it there is an altar, in the open air, of Minerva, and a ſtatue, which they ſay were

were dedicated by Cadmus. Hence their opinion, who aſſert that the Cadmus who came to Thebes was an Egyptian, and not a Phœnician, may be confuted by the very name given to this ſtatue of Minerva: for this goddeſs is called Siga in the Phœnician, and not Sais, as in the Egyptian tongue.

The Thebans too farther report, that where the forum of the tower now ſtands, the houſe of Cadmus formerly ſtood. Hence, they ſhew the ruins of the bed-chambers of Harmonia and Semele, into which laſt, even at preſent, men are not permitted to enter. According to the Greeks, the Muſes celebrated the nuptials of Harmonia with ſongs: and there is a place in the forum here, where they ſay the goddeſſes ſang. It is alſo ſaid, that together with the thunder which deſcended into the chamber of Semele, a piece of wood fell from heaven, which Polydorus adorned with braſs, and called Cadmean Bacchus. Near this there is a ſtatue of Bacchus, which Onaſſimedes made entirely of braſs; for the ſtatue of Cadmus was made by the ſons of Praxiteles. Here too there is a ſtatue of Pronomus the piper, who allured many by his harmony. Before his time there were different pipes, for the Dorian, Lydian, and Phrygian meaſures; *but he firſt invented pipes adapted to every kind of harmony, and was the firſt that played all the different meaſures at once on one pipe.* It is alſo ſaid, that he wonderfully delighted the ſpectators in the theatres, by the geſticulations of his face, and the motion of his whole body. His ſongs are yet extant which he compoſed for the Chalcidenſes by the Euripus, in honour of Delos. The Thebans therefore have here placed a ſtatue of this Pronomus, and of Epaminondas the ſon of Polymnis.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

THE anceſtors indeed of Epaminondas were very illuſtrious; but his father, with reſpect to poſſeſſions, was but of the middle rank among the Thebans. However, he took care to have his ſon accurately inſtructed in all the diſciplines belonging to his country: and Epaminondas himſelf, when he was but a youth, betook himſelf to Lyſis the Tarentine, who was ſkilled in the doctrine of Pythagoras the Samian. But in the war which the Lacedæmonians waged with the Mantineenſes, Epaminondas is ſaid to have been ſent with other Thebans to the aid of the Lacedæmonians. In this battle he ſaved Pelopidas, who, through a great wound which he received, was on the very brink of deſtruction; and afterwards being ſent as an ambaſſador to Sparta, when the Lacedæmonians decreed to eſtabliſh that peace which was called the peace of Antalcidas, Ageſilaus aſked him whether the Thebans had ſuffered the Bœotians in their reſpective cities to ſwear to the peace. To this interrogation Epaminondas replied, By no means, O Spartan, till we find that the cities which border on your dominions have ſworn. But as ſoon as the war between the Lacedæmonians and Thebans commenced, and the Lacedæmonians, truſting both to their own power and that of their allies, preſſed very much on the Thebans, Epaminondas with a part of the Theban army fixed his camps above the marſh Cephiſſis, as he perceived that in this part the Peloponneſians were diſpoſed to make an attack. Cleombrotus, however, king

of

of the Lacedæmonians, turned his forces to Ambryſſus in the land of the Phocenſes; and having ſlain Chæreas who guarded the paſſages in theſe parts, he penetrated as far as to Leuctra in Bœotia. But in this place divinity gave certain portentous ſigns in common to Cleombrotus and the Lacedæmonians. For it was uſual with the Spartan kings, when they marched to battle, to take along with them ſheep, that they might ſacrifice to the gods before the engagement began. The leaders of theſe ſheep were goats, which the ſhepherds call *Catoiadai*, or *leaders of the flock*. At that time, therefore, certain wolves ruſhed on the ſhepherd, and ſlew the goats that were the leaders of the flock, but did not in any reſpect injure the ſheep.

It is alſo ſaid, that the wrath of divinity was enkindled againſt the Lacedæmonians, through the daughters of Scedaſus. For when Scedaſus dwelt about Leuctra, he had two daughters, Molpia and Hippo. Theſe, when they were in the flower of their age, were raviſhed by the Lacedæmonians, Parathemidas, Phrudarchidas, and Parthenius. The virgins, indignantly bearing this injurious treatment, ſtrangled themſelves to death. And Scedaſus when he came to Lacedæmon, and could obtain no recompenſe from the Spartans, ſlew himſelf. But then Epaminondas performed funeral rites to Scedaſus and his daughters, and ſolemnly declared, that he took up arms, not more for the ſafety of the Thebans, than for the ſake of revenging the injuries which they had ſuſtained. The opinion, however, of ſome of the Bœotian commanders on this ſubject did not correſpond with that of Epaminondas: for though Malgis and Xenocrates were of opinion, that war ſhould be denounced againſt the Lacedæmonians with

all poſſible celerity, yet Damoclidas, Damophilus, and Simangelus thought this was by no means proper; but exhorted the Thebans to ſend away their wives and children to Attica, and prepare themſelves for a ſiege. And after this manner ſix of them varied in opinion. But when the ſeventh of the Bœotian chiefs, who guarded the paſſages at Cithæron, and whoſe name was Branchyllides, voted in favour of the opinion of Epaminondas, the Thebans determined to try the fortune of war.

However, ſeveral of the Bœotians were ſuſpected by Epaminondas, particularly the Theſpians. Fearing therefore ſome treachery might enſue, he permitted all that were willing to leave the camps, and return home: and in conſequence of this permiſſion, the Theſpians, and the other Bœotians, that were not attached to the intereſts of the Thebans, departed from the army. But as ſoon as an engagement took place, the allies of the Lacedæmonians, who previous to this were diſaffected towards them, now openly declared their hatred: for they were unwilling to remain in their places, and turned their backs when attacked by the enemy. The battle however between the Lacedæmonians and Thebans was equal; for the former were incited by their priſtine ſkill in warlike affairs, and the fear of deſtroying the dignity of Sparta; but the latter by the danger which they ſaw hung over their country, wives and children. But when, in the end, many principal perſons among the Lacedæmonians and king Cleombrotus himſelf fell, neceſſity compelled the Lacedæmonians, though in ſuch calamitous circumſtances, to maintain their ground; for it appeared to them to be a moſt ſhameful circumſtance, to leave the dead body of their king in the power of the enemy. Indeed the Thebans gained in this battle

battle the moſt illuſtrious victory which one Grecian nation ever obtained over another. On the following day the Lacedæmonians ſent heralds to the Thebans, and deſired they might be permitted to bury their dead. Epaminondas, however, who knew that the Lacedæmonians always concealed their calamities, anſwered, that he would firſt of all permit their allies to take away their dead, and then the Lacedæmonians to bury their own people. As ſome of the allies, therefore, had not any dead to take away, and others had but a few, the Spartans were obliged to confeſs that the greateſt loſs was of their own people. In this engagement, of the Thebans and ſuch Bœotians as remained, no more than forty-ſeven fell; but of the Lacedæmonians above a thouſand.

CHAP. XIV.

AFTER this battle Epaminondas permitted the reſt of the Peloponneſians to return home, but kept the Lacedæmonians ſhut up at Leuctra. But when he heard that the Spartans collected themſelves together from all their cities in order to aſſiſt their own people at Leuctra, he ſuffered them to depart on certain conditions, aſſerting that it was much better to transfer the war from Bœotia to Lacedæmonia. The Theſpians, becauſe they ſuſpected the Thebans on account of their ancient hatred towards them, and their preſent good fortune, thought proper to leave their city, and fly to Cereſſus. This Cereſſus is a fortified town belonging to the Theſpians, into which they formerly betook themſelves when they were attacked

by the Theſſalians. But at that time the Theſſalians, being fruſtrated in their attempts to take Cereſſus, ſent to Delphos in order to conſult the god, and received the following oracle: "Shady Leuctra and the Aleſian ſoil are the objects of my care. My attention likewiſe is directed to the ſorrowful daughters of Scedaſus. For on their account a lamentable war will ariſe. Nor ſhall any man ſurvive to relate it, till the Dores ſhall loſe a beautiful young virgin, when her fatal hour is arrived: for then, but not otherwiſe, Cereſſus may be taken." Epaminondas, therefore, having taken Cereſſus, and the Theſpians who had fled thither for refuge being expelled, turned his attention to the affairs of Peloponneſus, the Arcadians with great alacrity calling upon him for this purpoſe.

On his firſt arrival therefore among the Peloponneſians, he voluntarily joined himſelf to the Argives, as his aſſociates in war; brought back the Mantinenſes to their ancient city, who were diſperſed in towns about Ageſipolis; and perſuaded the Arcadians to deſtroy their ſmall towns, which, as they were unfortified, might eaſily be taken, and to aſſemble together in one city which he built for them, and which is even at preſent called Megalopolis. When the time of his command too was expired, and which to continue any longer was a capital offence, he deſpiſed the law by which this cuſtom was eſtabliſhed, as being then unſeaſonable, retained his command, and marched with an army to Sparta: but finding that Ageſilaus was not willing to come to an engagement, he turned his attention to the reſtoration of Meſſene. Hence, Epaminondas was the reſtorer of thoſe Meſſenians that exiſt at preſent; the particulars of which affair I have related in my Meſſenics. In the mean time, the Theban allies

diſperſing

diſperſing themſelves over the Laconic land, greatly injured it by their depredations; and this induced Epaminondas to lead back his army to Bœotia. When therefore he drew near to Lechæus, and was about to paſs through the difficult and narrow defiles, Iphicrates the ſon of Timotheus met him with troops armed with ſhields like a half moon, and with the other forces of the Athenians, which he led againſt the Thebans. Theſe Epaminondas attacked, and put to flight; and purſuing them as far as to the walls of Athens, when he found that Iphicrates would not ſuffer the Athenians to fight, led back his army to Thebes. Here he was tried for continuing his Bœotian government after the expiration of the limited time; but not one of the judges would paſs ſentence upon him.

CHAP. XV.

AFTERWARDS, when Alexander who reigned in Theſſaly impriſoned Pelopidas (who came to him relying on his private benevolence, and on the friendſhip of the Thebans in common), that he might puniſh his perfidy and inſolence, the Thebans immediately marched an army againſt Alexander, and choſe Cleomenes for the leader of this expedition; at the ſame time ſubjecting the Bœotian governor, who at that time preſided over the army, to his command. Epaminondas upon this occaſion was ſtationed among the common ſoldiers. The army having arrived at the narrow defiles of the Thermopylæ, was unexpectedly attacked by Alexander in thoſe parts moſt difficult of acceſs; and in conſequence of this, the forces deſpairing of

ſucceſs choſe Epaminondas for their general, with the free conſent of the Bœotian præfects. Alexander, therefore, perceiving that the command was transferred to Epaminondas, had not the boldneſs to come to an engagement, and voluntarily diſmiſſed Pelopidas. But during the abſence of Epaminondas, the Thebans drove the Orchomenians from their country. This violence Epaminondas bore indignantly, and ſaid that the Thebans would not have dared to act in this manner if he had been preſent.

In the mean time, as no other Bœotian governor was choſen, Epaminondas led his army again to Peloponneſus, and vanquiſhed the Lacedæmonians near Lechæus; and together with them the Pellenenſes from among the Achaians, and of the Athenians, thoſe which had been led by Chabrias. It was an eſtabliſhed cuſtom among the Thebans to take a ranſom for their priſoners, except ſuch as were Bœotians; for theſe they condemned to death. But Epaminondas having taken a ſmall city of the Sicyonians called Phœbia, and which contained the greateſt part of the Bœotian exiles, enfranchiſed them on their paying down a certain ſum of money; at the ſame time calling them by the names of different countries, juſt as they came into his mind. However, when he came to Mantinea with his army, and was then victorious, he was ſlain by an Athenian: and among the Athenians in a picture of an equeſtrian battle, a man is repreſented ſlaying Epaminondas, and the writing under him ſhews that he is Gryllus the ſon of Xenophon. This was the Xenophon that attended Cyrus in his expedition againſt Artaxerxes, and who led the Greeks back again to the ſea. On the ſtatue of Epaminondas elegies are inſcribed, which aſſert,

aſſert, among other things, that Meſſene was reſtored by him, and that he gave liberty to the Greeks. Theſe elegies are as follow:

> Our counſels Sparta's glory have deſtroy'd.
> Through theſe, Meſſene ſhall in time receive
> Offspring auguſt. Through theſe, with Theban arms
> Environ'd, Megalopolis is crown'd,
> And its own laws Greece unreſtrain'd enjoys.

And ſuch are the particulars reſpecting the renown of Epaminondas.

CHAP. XVI.

NOT far from this ſtatue of Epaminondas there is a temple of Ammon. The ſtatue in this temple was made by Calamis, and dedicated by Pindar, who alſo ſent hymns in honour of Ammon to the Ammonians in Libya. At preſent there is a hymn compoſed by Pindar, inſcribed on a triangular pillar, near the altar which Ptolemy the ſon of Lagus dedicated to Ammon. After this temple the Thebans have a building which is called *the divining tower* of Tireſias: and near it there is a temple of Fortune. The ſtatue of the goddeſs in this temple holds an infant Plutus: and the Thebans ſay, that the hands and face of this ſtatue were made by the Athenian Xenophon, but the other parts by Calliſtonicus a Theban. It certainly was a ſagacious device to place Plutus in the hands of Fortune, as if ſhe was his mother or nurſe. Nor was the ſagacity of Cephiſodotus leſs, who made for the Athenians Peace holding Plutus. The Thebans too have wooden ſtatues of Venus ſo ancient, that they are ſaid to have been dedi-

cated by Harmonia. Theſe were made from the beaks of the ſhips of Cadmus. One of theſe they call *Celeſtial* Venus, the ſecond *Popular*, and the third *Apoſtrophia*.

Harmonia gave theſe names to Venus; the epithet *Celeſtial*, ſignifying pure love, and that which is liberated from the deſire of body; the epithet *Popular*, alluding to venereal congreſs; and *Apoſtrophia*, ſignifying that this goddeſs turns the race of men from unlawful deſire and impious coition. For Harmonia knew, that many impious actions both among the Barbarians and Greeks were committed through intemperate deſire; ſuch as afterwards were celebrated in verſe, of the mother of Adonis, of Phædra the daughter of Minos, and of the Thracian Tereus. But they ſay that the temple of Ceres Theſmophoros was once the houſe of Cadmus and his poſterity. The ſtatue of Ceres in this temple is only apparent as far as to the breaſt. Brazen ſhields are fixed in this place, which they ſay belonged to the Lacedæmonian noblemen that fell in the battle at Leuctra. Near the gates called Proetæ there is a theatre: and very near the theatre there is a temple of Lyſian Bacchus. For when formerly the Thracians led away many captives from the Thebans, Bacchus freed them from their bonds, when they came near the borders of the Haliartians, and enabled them to ſlay the Thracians when oppreſſed with ſleep. The Thebans, too, ſay that the other ſtatue which is in this temple is the ſtatue of Semele. Once every year, on ſtated days, they open this temple. Here likewiſe there are ruins of the houſe of Lycus, and a ſepulchre of Semele; for it is not the ſepulchre of Alcmene; as, according to report, ſhe was changed after her death into a ſtone. For the Thebans do not give the ſame account of her as the Megarenſes.

The

The Greeks, too, in other relations differ very much from each other. The Thebans have beſides, in this place, monuments of the children of Amphion, the male being apart from the female offspring.

CHAP. XVII.

NEAR theſe is the temple of Diana *Eucleia*, or *the renowned*: and the ſtatue of the goddeſs in it was made by Scopas. They ſay that the daughters of Antipœnus, Androclea and Alcida, are buried in this temple. For when the Thebans led by Hercules were about to engage with the Orchomenians, they were told by an oracle, that the army would be victorious out of which a citizen of the moſt illuſtrious birth ſhould deſtroy himſelf. Antipœnus, therefore, was the chief of all his fellow citizens with reſpect to the ſplendor of his origin; but he could not be perſuaded to kill himſelf for the good of his country. His daughters, however, cheerfully devoted themſelves for the accompliſhment of this end: and for this they were publicly honoured. Before this temple of Diana Eucleia there is a lion of ſtone, which they ſay was dedicated by Hercules after he had vanquiſhed the Orchomenians, and their king Erginus the ſon of Clymenus. Near this temple there is a ſtatue of Boedromian Apollo, and a ſtatue of Judicial Mercury, which was dedicated by Pindar. The funeral pile of the children of Amphion is about half a ſtadium diſtant from their ſepulchres. The aſhes yet remain upon this funeral pile. Near the ſtatue too of Amphitryon there are two ſtone ſtatues of Minerva, who is called

Zoſteria. For Amphitryon is ſaid to have armed himſelf in this place, when he was on the point of engaging with the Euboœenſes and Chalcodon. But to put on armour, was called by the ancients *begirding*. For when Homer makes the zone of Agamemnon ſimilar to that of Mars, they ſay, that he means by this word the apparatus of his armour.

There is a common ſepulchre here of Zethus and Amphion, which is not large, and is nothing more than a heap of earth. The inhabitants of Tithorea among the Phocenſes are deſirous of carrying away earth from this tomb, and this when the ſun is in Taurus. For then, if they add the earth taken away from this tomb to the ſepulchre of Antiope, their own land becomes more prolific, but the contrary happens to that of the Thebans. And on this account the Thebans at that time carefully guard the ſepulchre. But theſe cities are perſuaded that this will be the caſe from the oracles of Bacis; for the following lines are found among theſe oracles: "When the Tithorenſes ſhall offer libations, prayers, and atonements to Amphion and Zethus, a bull being heated by the illuſtrious power of the ſun, then beware of a malady of no trifling nature, which ſhall infeſt the city. For the fruits in the land ſhall periſh, if you ſuffer any of your earth to be taken away, and placed on the ſepulchre of Phocus." But Bacis calls it the monument of Phocus, becauſe Dirce the wife of Lycus honoured Bacchus above all the divinities; and when ſhe ſuffered that dire puniſhment from Amphion and Zethus, Bacchus was indignant with Antiope; and, as the puniſhments of the gods are always tranſcendent, afflicted her with madneſs, and by this means cauſed her to wander over all Greece. Phocus however,

however, the ſon of Ornytion, and the grandſon of Siſyphus, freed her from her inſanity, and married her: and on this account a ſepulchre was built in common for Antiope and Phocus. The rude ſtones which are ſcattered about the tomb of Amphion, are ſaid to be the very ſtones which followed the harmony of his lyre. It is alſo ſaid of Orpheus, that wild beaſts followed him when he played on his harp.

CHAP. XVIII.

THERE is a road from Thebes to Chalcis, near the gates called Proetæ. In the public part of this road there is a ſepulchre of Melanippus, who was the moſt excellent warrior of all the Thebans, and who, when the Argives beſieged Thebes, ſlew Tydeus, and Meciſteus the brother of Adraſtus: but he himſelf is ſaid to have been ſlain by Amphiaraus. There are three rude ſtones near this ſepulchre. But thoſe that relate the antiquities of the Thebans ſay that Tydeus is interred here, and that he was buried by Mæon. In proof of this they cite the following verſe from the Iliad:

"Tydeus, who buried lies in Theban earth."

After this are the ſepulchres of the children of Oedipus. I have not, indeed, beheld the ſacred rites which are performed in honour of theſe, but I can credit the reports of thoſe that have ſeen them. For the Thebans ſay, that they perform funeral ſacrifices to others that are called heroes, and to the children of Oedipus; and that while they are ſacrificing to theſe, both the flame, and the ſmoke

produced by the flame, become divided into two parts. I am induced to believe that this account is true, from what I have ſeen elſewhere. For in Myſia above Caicus there is a ſmall city which is called Pioniæ. They ſay that this city was built by Pionis, who was one of the poſterity of Hercules. While they are celebrating his funeral rites, a ſmoke riſes ſpontaneouſly from the ſepulchre: and of this I have been a ſpectator The Thebans too exhibit the ſepulchre of Tireſias, which is at the diſtance of about twenty ſtadia from the ſepulchre of the ſons of Oedipus. But they acknowledge that Tireſias died in Haliartia: they likewiſe own that the ſepulchre which they ſhew of him is merely honorary. The Thebans too have a tomb of Hector the ſon of Priam, near the fountain which is called Oedipodia. For they ſay that his bones were brought hither from Troy, in conſequence of the following oracle; "Thebans, who inhabit the city of Cadmus, if you wiſh to reſide in your country, bleſt with the poſſeſſion of blameleſs wealth, bring the bones of Hector the ſon of Priam into your dominions from Aſia, and reverence the hero agreeably to the mandate of Jupiter." But the fountain Oedipodia was thus denominated, becauſe Oedipus waſhed off in it the blood occaſioned by the murder of his father. Near this fountain is the ſepulchre of Aſphodicus, who, according to the Thebans, ſlew Parthenopæus the ſon of Talaus in an engagement with the Argives. For the verſes in the Thebaid, reſpecting the death of Parthenopæus, aſſert that he was ſlain by Periclymenus.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIX.

In this ſame public road too there is a place called Teumeſſus, where they ſay Europa was concealed by Jupiter. It is likewiſe ſaid of the Teumeſſian fox, that it was nouriſhed by Bacchus for the purpoſe of deſtroying the Thebans; and that when it was on the point of being taken by that dog which Diana gave to Procris the daughter of Erechtheus, both the dog and the fox were changed into ſtones. There is alſo a temple of Minerva Telchinia in Teumeſſus; but it has not a ſtatue of the goddeſs. It may be conjectured, that the goddeſs was thus denominated from the Telchinians, who formerly dwelt in Cyprus; for it is probable that a part of them, when they came among the Bœotians, dedicated this temple of Minerva Telchinia. On proceeding from Teumeſſus, on the left hand, and to the diſtance of about ſeven ſtadia, you will arrive at the ruins of Gliſas. Oppoſite to theſe there is a ſepulchre of earth not very large, which can hardly be ſeen by reaſon of the trees which ſurround it, ſome of which are wild, and others have been raiſed by art. Thoſe that followed Ægialeus the ſon of Adraſtus to the Theban war, the Argive nobles, and among them Promachus the ſon of Parthenopæus, are buried here. But that there is a ſepulchre of Ægialeus in Pagæ, I have before evinced in my account of the Megarenſian affairs. On proceeding in a ſtraight line from Thebes to Gliſas, you will ſee a place ſurrounded with choſen ſtones, which the Thebans call the head of the ſerpent. They ſay that a certain ſerpent raiſed

raiſed its head in this place out of a cavern, and that Tireſias, who happened to come hither at that time, ſlew it with his ſword, which occaſioned the place to be thus denominated. Above Gliſas there is a mountain which is called *Supreme*; and in it there is a temple with a ſtatue of Jupiter the Supreme. But the torrent which is in this place they call Thermodon. On turning towards Teumeſſus, and into the road which leads to Chalcis, you will ſee a ſepulchre of Chalcodon, who was ſlain by Amphitryon in the battle between the Thebans and Eubœenſes. After this you will perceive the ruins of the cities Harmas and Mycaleſſus. The former of theſe was thus denominated, according to the Tanagræans, becauſe Amphiaraus diſappeared with his chariot in this place, and not in that mentioned by the Thebans. But it is acknowledged both by the Tanagræans and Thebans, that Mycaleſſus was ſo called, becauſe the ox which was the guide of Cadmus and his aſſociates, in their journey to Thebes, lowed there. After what manner too Mycaleſſus came to be a deſolate place, I have ſhewn in my account of the Athenian affairs.

In that part of Mycaleſſus which borders on the ſea, there is a temple of Mycaleſſian Ceres. They ſay that this is opened and ſhut again every night by Hercules; and that Hercules is one of thoſe that are called the Idæi Dactyli. The following wonderful circumſtance happens here: They place before the feet of the ſtatue of Ceres, all the fruit which autumn produces: and this remains entire through the whole year. Proceeding to a little diſtance from that part of the Euripus which divides Eubœa from the borders of the Bœotians, and keeping to the right hand of the temple of Ceres, you will arrive at Aulis, which

which they ſay was denominated from the daughter of Ogygus. There is a temple here of Diana, which contains two ſtone ſtatues: one of theſe holds a torch, and the other is in the attitude of one ſhooting an arrow. They ſay, that when the Greeks, in conſequence of the propheſy of Chalcas, were about to ſacrifice Iphigenia on the altar in this temple, the goddeſs cauſed a ſtag to be the victim inſtead of her. Even at preſent, too, they preſerve in this temple the remains of the trunk of that plane-tree, which is mentioned by Homer in the Iliad. It is likewiſe ſaid, that when the Greeks were detained at Aulis by adverſe winds, the wind on a ſudden blew from the deſired quarter; and then each perſon ſacrificed to Diana whatever victims came to hand, both male and female: in conſequence of this it became an eſtabliſhed cuſtom in Aulis, to approve victims of every kind. They ſhew a fountain here, near which a plane-tree grows; and on a hill near the tent of Agamemnon, there is a brazen threſhold. But palm-trees grow before the temple, the fruit of which is not perfectly ſweet to the taſte, like that of the palm-trees in Palæſtine; but yet theſe dates are milder than thoſe which are gathered in Ionia. There are not many inhabitants in Aulis; and theſe are all of them potters. The Tanagræi, too, and thoſe that dwell about Mycaleſſus and Harma, cultivate this land.

CHAP. XX.

IN that part of the country of the Tanagræans which borders on the ſea, there is a place called Delion, in which there are a temple of Diana, and ſtatues of Latona. The Tanagræans

Tanagræans ſay, that their city was built by Poemandrus, the ſon of Chæreſilaus, the grandſon of Iaſius, and the great grandſon of Eleuther, who was the ſon of Apollo and Æthuſa the daughter of Neptune. This Poemandrus married Tanagra the daughter of Æolus; though Corinna in her verſes ſays, that Tanagra was the daughter of Aſopus. However, ſhe lived to ſo great an age, that ſhe was called by her neighbours *Graia*, or *the grey*, inſtead of Tanagra; and, in proceſs of time, this name was given to the city, and remained ſo long, that it is mentioned by Homer in his catalogue of the Greeks:

"Theſpia, *Graia*, Mycaleſſus broad."

In after-times, however, it recovered its priſtine name. There is a monument too of Orion in Tanagra, and a mountain Cercyius, in which they ſay Mercury was born. There is likewiſe a place called Poloſon: and here they ſay Atlas ſat, diligently inveſtigating ſubterranean and celeſtial affairs. And that Homer, agreeable to this, ſays of Atlas:

"Atlas, her ſire, by whoſe all-piercing eye
The depths of ev'ry ſea are clearly ſeen,
And who the lofty pillars ſtrenuous rears,
Which ev'ry way divide the earth from heav'n."

But in the temple of Bacchus there is a ſtatue which deſerves to be inſpected, of Parian ſtone, and which was made by Calamis. The ſtatue of Triton, however, is ſtill more wonderful: and there is a more venerable report concerning him, which is as follows:—The Tanagrian women, that were firſt initiated in the orgies of Bacchus, deſcended to the ſea, for the ſake of purifications. But while they were ſwimming in it, they were aſſaulted by Triton;

Triton; and on their imploring Bacchus to defend them, the god heard their prayer, engaged with and vanquiſhed Triton. There is another report, which is not ſo venerable as the former, but which is more probable; and it is this:—Whatever cattle were driven to the ſea, were attacked and taken away by Triton, who uſed likewiſe to ſeize all ſmall veſſels, till the Tanagrians placed on the ſhore bowls of wine. For Triton, allured by the ſmell of this, drank it, was overpowered by ſleep, and fell headlong from a ſteep part of the ſhore. After this a Tanagrian cut off his head with an axe; and this is the reaſon why his ſtatue is without a head. But they are of opinion that, becauſe he was ſeen intoxicated, he was ſlain by Bacchus.

CHAP. XXI.

I HAVE ſeen another Triton among the admirable curioſities of the Romans, but which is not ſo large as this of the Tanagrians. The form of the Tritons is as follows:—The hair of their head reſembles the parſley which grows in marſhes, both in its colour, and in the perfect ſimilitude of one hair to another, ſo that you cannot diſtinguiſh any difference among them. The reſt of their body is rough, with ſmall ſcales, and is of the ſame hardneſs with the ſkin of a fiſh. They have the gills of a fiſh under their ears. Their noſtrils are thoſe of a man, but their teeth are broader than thoſe of the human ſpecies, and are the teeth of a wild beaſt. Their eyes appear to me to be azure; and their hands, fingers, and nails, are of the ſame form with the upper ſhells of ſhell-fiſh. They have

have fins under their breaſt and belly, like thoſe of the dolphin, inſtead of feet. I have likewiſe ſeen the Æthiopian bull, which they call rhinoceros, becauſe a horn projects from the extremity of its noſtril, and another ſmall one under it: but it has no horns on its head. I have ſeen too the Pæorian bulls, whoſe bodies are rough in every part, but particularly in the breaſt and chin. But the Indian camels reſemble leopards in their colour. There is a wild beaſt called alce, which is of a ſpecies between a ſtag and a camel. This animal is found among the Gauls; and is the only wild beaſt we are acquainted with, which can neither be hunted nor foreſeen at a diſtance by the human ſpecies: but the dæmon drives theſe into the hands of the hunter, while he is engaged in purſuing other wild beaſts. They ſay that it ſmells a man at a great diſtance; and, after ſmelling him, hides itſelf in chaſms and profound caverns. Hunters, therefore, when they have ſurrounded plains or mountain thickets with their toils, ſo as that they are certain of catching all the animals within the circumference of their toils, catch among the reſt the alce. But if it happens that this animal is not in the part in which they have fixed their toils, they are unable to take it by any ſtratagem whatever.

With reſpect to that wild beaſt which Cteſias, in his hiſtory of the Indians, ſays, is called by them *martiora*, but by the Greeks *androphagos*, or *the devourer of man*, I am perſuaded that it is no other than the tiger. This animal, he ſays, has a triple row of teeth in one of its jaws, and ſtings in the extremity of its tail, with which it defends itſelf when attacked near, and hurls them like arrows againſt its enemies at a diſtance. For my own part, I do

not

not believe that this account of the animal is true, but that the Indians have been induced to fabricate it, through vehement dread of this wild beaſt. For they are deceived with reſpect to its colour, becauſe the tiger, when it is beheld in the ſun, appears to be red, and of a colour ſimilar to that of the ſun. Or this deception may have ariſen from the ſwiftneſs of the beaſt, or from its agility in turning its body when it is not running, which is ſo great, that its colour, particularly if beheld at a diſtance, cannot be aſcertained. Indeed, I am of opinion, that whoever travels to the extremities of Africa, India, or Arabia, and is deſirous of finding ſuch animals as are produced in Greece, will, in the firſt place, diſcover that ſome of them are wanting; and, in the next place, will find others which vary in certain particulars from thoſe in Greece. For man is not the only animal which varies in his form in a different air, and a different land, but other animals are ſubject to the ſame variety. Thus the Libyan aſps are of the ſame colour with thoſe in Egypt; but in Æthiopia they are black as well as the men. Hence we ought neither to believe in every report indiſcriminately, nor yet refuſe our aſſent to the exiſtence of other things, merely becauſe they are rare. I have never indeed ſeen winged ſerpents; but I am perſuaded there are ſuch animals, becauſe a Phrygian once brought into Ionia a ſcorpion, which had wings ſimilar to thoſe of a locuſt.

CHAP. XXII.

IN Tanagra, near the temple of Bacchus, there are three temples; one of Themis, another of Venus, and a third of Apollo; in which laſt both Diana and Latona are worſhipped.

ſhipped. With reſpect to the two temples of Mercury, one of which is called the temple of *Criophoros*, or *the bearer of the ram*, and the other of *Promachos*, or *the defender*, they ſay that the firſt of theſe was thus denominated, becauſe Mercury freed them from a peſtilence, by carrying a ram round the walls; and that on this account Calamis made a ſtatue of Mercury for the Tanagræans, carrying a ram on his ſhoulders. He who ſurpaſſes in beauty all the other youths, carries, on the feſtival of Mercury, a ram on his ſhoulders round the walls. But they ſay that Mercury was called Promachos, becauſe, when the Eretrienſes from Eubœa came with a fleet againſt the Tanagræans, this god led forth the youth to battle, and, being himſelf armed with a curry-comb like a young man, was the principal cauſe of putting the Eubœenſes to flight. In the temple of Promachos the remains of a purſlain-tree are dedicated, becauſe, as they ſay, Mercury was educated under trees of this kind. Not far too from hence there is a theatre, and near it a porch is raiſed. In this particular indeed the Tanagræans appear to me to reverence the gods in a manner ſuperior to the reſt of the Greeks, becauſe they are careful to build their temples ſeparate from other edifices, in a pure place, and remote from the multitude.

In a celebrated part of the city there is a ſepulchre of Corinna, who alone compoſed verſes for the Tanagræans. In the gymnaſium too there is a picture of her, in which her head is repreſented bound with a fillet, on account of her having vanquiſhed at Thebes, Pindar, in the compoſing of verſes. It appears to me, however, that ſhe vanquiſhed him by reaſon of the dialect which ſhe employed, becauſe her verſes were not compoſed in the Doric dialect like

thoſe of Pindar, but in that dialect which the Æolians would moſt eaſily underſtand; and becauſe ſhe was the moſt beautiful woman too of her time, as may be eaſily inferred from her picture. Among the Tanagræans, there are two kinds of cocks, the game, and thoſe which they call *coſſuphoi*, or *black birds*. The ſize of theſe coſſuphoi is the ſame with that of the Lydian birds, but their colour reſembles that of a crow. Their gills, too, and creſts reſemble an anemony: and they have white ſpots, not very large, on the extremity of their bill and tail. But in that part of Bœotia which is on the left hand of the Euripus, there is a fountain called Meſſapios, and under it is the maritime city of the Bœotians, Anthedon. According to ſome, the city was thus denominated from the nymph Anthedon; but according to others, from Anthan the ſon of Neptune, by Alcyone the daughter of Atlas, becauſe Anthan once reigned in this place. Among the Anthedonians, near the middle of their city, there is a temple of the Cabiri; and about it there is a grove of Ceres, and a temple of Proſerpine. The ſtatue of the goddeſs is of white ſtone. Before the city, too, and towards the more interior part of the country, there is a temple of Bacchus, and in it there is a ſtatue of the god. In this place likewiſe there are ſepulchres of Iphimedea, and the ſons of Aloeus, who were ſlain by Apollo in Naxos, which is above Paros, both according to Homer and Pindar. The ſepulchres of theſe too are in Anthedon. Near the ſea there is a place which they call the thicket of Glaucus. This Glaucus was a fiſherman, who, after eating a certain herb, became a dæmon of the ſea: and that he predicts future events, is both believed by others, and particularly by ſailors, who relate many things

every year reſpecting his divining power. Pindar too and Æſchylus, relying on theſe reports of the Anthedonians, have celebrated Glaucus in their verſes; the former indeed not relating many things of him, but the latter making him the ſubject of one of his dramas.

CHAP. XXIII.

BUT among the Thebans, before the gate called Proetæ, there is that which is denominated the gymnaſium of Iolaus: there is likewiſe a ſtadium, like that in Olympia, or that among the Laurians; for it is a heap of earth. In the ſame place too they ſhew the heroic monument of Iolaus, who, as the Thebans acknowledge, died in Sardinia; the Athenians and Theſpienſes paſſing over with him to that city at the ſame time. Having proceeded beyond the right hand part of the ſtadium, you will arrive at the Hippodrome, in which there is a ſepulchre of Pindar. It is ſaid of Pindar, that when he was a young man, as he was going to Theſpia, being wearied with the heat, as it was noon, and in the height of ſummer, he fell aſleep at a ſmall diſtance from the public road; and that bees, as he was aſleep, flew to him and wrought their honey on his lips. This circumſtance firſt induced Pindar to compoſe verſes. But when his reputation ſpread through all Greece, the Pythian deity raiſed his glory to a ſtill greater height, by ordering the Delphi to aſſign to Pindar an equal part of thoſe firſt-fruits which were offered to Apollo. It is alſo ſaid, that when he was an old man, he ſaw in a dream Proſerpine ſtanding by him, who at the ſame time told him,

him, that ſhe alone of all the divinities was not celebrated by him in his hymns, but that when he came to her, he would compoſe a hymn in her praiſe. And indeed he died on the tenth day after this dream. But there was at Thebes a certain old woman allied to Pindar, and who was very converſant with his verſes, which ſhe uſed to ſing. To her Pindar appeared in a dream, and ſang a hymn to Proſerpine: and the old woman, as ſoon as ſhe was awake, committed to writing all that ſhe had heard Pindar ſinging in her ſleep. In this hymn, among other appellations of Pluto, he is called *Chruſenios*, or *poſſeſſing golden reins*: and it is evident that this epithet pertains to the rape of Proſerpine.

From the ſepulchre of Pindar, there is a road which is for the moſt part plain to Acræphnium. They ſay that this city was at firſt a part of the Theban land: and I have found that Theban exiles afterwards fled hither, when Alexander ſubverted Thebes. For theſe, through imbecility and old age, not being able to reach the Attic land, took up their reſidence in this place. This little city is ſituated in the mountain Ptous; and contains a temple and ſtatue of Bacchus, which deſerve to be inſpected. On proceeding to about the diſtance of fifteen ſtadia from this city, you will ſee on the right hand a temple of Apollo Ptous. But Ptous was the ſon of Athamas and Themiſtus; and from him both Apollo and the mountain were denominated, according to the poet Aſius. Before Thebes was deſtroyed by Alexander, there was an oracle in this temple, which was by no means fallacious. They ſay that an European, whoſe name was Mys, was once ſent hither by Mardonius, for the purpoſe of conſulting the oracle; and that the god anſwered his interrogations, not in the

Grecian tongue, but in a Barbaric dialect. After you have paſſed beyond the mountain Ptous, you will arrive at Larymna, which is a maritime city of the Bœotians. They ſay that it was thus denominated from Larymna, the daughter of Cynus. But I ſhall relate who were her more remote anceſtors, in my account of the Locrian affairs. Formerly Larymna belonged to the city Opus: but when the power of the Thebans became very conſiderable, then the inhabitants of Larymna voluntarily joined themſelves to the Bœotians. There is a temple here of Bacchus, and a ſtatue in an upright poſition. There is likewiſe a lake, whoſe profundity commences from its very margin: and the mountains which are above the city afford wild boars for hunters.

CHAP. XXIV.

ON proceeding from Acræphnium, in a ſtraight line to the lake Cephiſſis, which is called by ſome Copais, you will arrive at a plain which is denominated Athamantios. They ſay that Athamas dwelt in this place. The river Cephiſſus pours itſelf into this lake. This river commences from Lilæa among the Phocenſes, and affords a paſſage for ſhips to Copæ, which is a ſmall city ſituated near the lake, and which is mentioned by Homer in his catalogue of the ſhips. In this city there are temples of Ceres, Bacchus, and Serapis. The Bœotians too ſay, that formerly other ſmall cities, Athenæ and Eleuſis, were inhabited near this lake, which were deſtroyed during the winter ſeaſon by the overflowing of the lake. But the fiſh in the lake Cephiſſis are in no reſpect different from the fiſh

which are found in other lakes. The eels, however, which are found in it are very large and ſweet. On proceeding from Copæ, on the left hand, at about the diſtance of twelve ſtadia, you will arrive at Holmones: and from Holmones, Hyettus is diſtant about ſeven ſtadia. Theſe are now, as they were at firſt, nothing more than villages; and it appears to me that they are parts of the Orchomenian land, as well as the Athamantian plains. With reſpect to Hyettus, and Holmus the ſon of Siſyphus, I ſhall relate what I have heard concerning them, in my account of the Orchomenians.

But there is not any thing which deſerves in the leaſt to be inſpected among the Holmonians. In Hyettus there is a temple of Hercules; and in it remedies are found for the diſeaſed. The ſtatue, however, of Hercules is not artificially made, but is a rude ſtone after the ancient manner. At about the diſtance of twenty ſtadia from Hyettus, is Crytones. They ſay that this ſmall city was formerly called Cyrtone. It is built on a lofty mountain, and in it there are a temple and grove of Apollo. But in the temple there are ſtatues in an upright poſition of Apollo and Diana. Cold water flows here from a rock: and near this fountain there is a temple of the Nymphs, and a ſmall grove in which trees of every kind are planted. On proceeding from Crytones, after you have paſſed over the mountain, you will arrive at the town Corſea. Under this town there is a grove of planted trees, which are for the moſt part ſcarlet oaks. A ſmall ſtatue of Mercury ſtands in that part of the grove which is in the open air. This grove too is about half a ſtadium diſtant from Corſea. On deſcending into the flat part of the country, you will ſee the river Platanius pouring itſelf into the ſea. And

on the right hand of this river are the extremities of the Bœotian land: and in this place there is a ſmall city Alæ, near the ſea, which divides the continent of the Locrians from Eubœa.

CHAP. XXV.

AMONG the Thebans, near the gate Neitis, is the ſepulchre of Menoeceus the ſon of Creon, who voluntarily ſlew himſelf, in compliance with the Delphic oracle, when Polynices came with an army from Argos. A pomegranate-tree grows near his tomb, the fruit of which, when ripe, on breaking the exterior rind, has the appearance of blood. This tree regerminates perpetually. The Thebans too aſſert that the vine firſt made its appearance in their country; but they have not any token to ſhew of this at preſent. Not far from the ſepulchre of Menoeceus, they ſay that the ſons of Oedipus, fighting in a ſingle combat, ſlew each other. As a proof of this combat, there is a pillar here, and upon it a ſtone ſhield. They ſhew a place, too, in which they ſay Juno ſuckled Hercules, in conſequence of a deception employed by Jupiter. The whole of this place is called *Surma Antigones*, or *the drawing of Antigone*; becauſe Antigone, when ſhe found herſelf unable to raiſe the dead body of Polynices, endeavoured to draw it along, and continued her efforts till ſhe accompliſhed her deſign, and threw it on the funeral pile of Eteocles, which was then enkindled. After you have paſſed over the river which is called Dirce, from the wife of Lycus (by whom according to report Antiope was injured, and was on that account ſlain by the ſons of Antiope),

tiope), you will ſee the ruins of the houſe of Pindar, and a temple of the mother Dindymene, which was dedicated by Pindar. The ſtatue of the goddeſs was made by the Thebans Ariſtomedes and Socrates. On one day in every year they think proper to open this temple. I happened to be preſent on that day, and by this means had an opportunity of ſeeing the ſtatue, which is of Pentelican ſtone, as well as the throne on which the goddeſs ſits. In the road from the gate Neitis there is a temple of Themis, and in it a ſtatue of white ſtone. After this there are two temples, one of the Parcæ, and the other of Judicial Jupiter. The ſtatue of Jupiter is of ſtone; but there are no ſtatues of the Parcæ. At a ſmall diſtance from hence, there is a ſtatue of Hercules in the open air, under the appellation of *Rinocolouſtes*, becauſe, in order to diſgrace thoſe ambaſſadors (as the Thebans ſay) that were ſent by the Orchomenians to demand tribute, he cut off their noſes.

On proceeding to the diſtance of twenty-five ſtadia from hence, you will ſee a grove of Cabirian Ceres and Proſerpine, into which the uninitiated are not permitted to enter. But who the Cabiri are, and what the ceremonies which are performed in honour of them, and the mother of the gods, I muſt beg thoſe that are deſirous of hearing ſuch particulars to ſuffer me to paſs over in ſilence. Nothing however hinders me from diſcloſing the origin of theſe myſteries according to the Thebans. They ſay, then, that there was once a city in this place, and inhabitants, who were called Cabiri; and that Ceres depoſited ſomething with Prometheus, who was one of the Cabiri, and with his ſon Ætnæus, after ſhe became acquainted with them. What this depoſit was, and the

circumſtances which took place reſpecting it, piety forbids me to diſcloſe. The myſteries therefore of the Cabiri were the gift of Ceres. But when the Epigoni led an army againſt Thebes, and Thebes was taken, the Cabiri being driven from their country were not able for ſome time to celebrate theſe myſteries. Afterwards, however, they were reſtored by Pelarge, the daughter of Potneus, in conjunction with her huſband Iſthmiades. And then, indeed, Pelarge initiated perſons in theſe myſteries beyond the ancient boundaries of the country; but Telondes, and thoſe of the Cabiri that were reſtored to their native land, celebrated the myſteries in Cabiræa. By an oracle too given from Dodona, other honours were decreed to Pelarge; and a victim big with young was ordered to be ſacrificed to her. Many inſtances likewiſe have evinced that the wrath of the Cabiri is implacable. For when certain private perſons in Naupactus had the boldneſs to perform the ceremonies eſtabliſhed by the Thebans, they were ſhortly after puniſhed for their impiety. Such too of the forces of Xerxes as, together with Mardonius, pitched their camps in Bœotia, when they entered the temple of the Cabiri, either allured by the hope of gaining great riches, or (as it appears to me) through their contempt of a divine nature, became immediately inſane: and ſome of them threw themſelves into the ſea, and others hurled themſelves headlong from rocks. Thus again, when Alexander had vanquiſhed the Thebans, and deſtroyed all Thebes by fire, ſuch of the Macedonians as entered the temple of the Cabiri, becauſe they were upon hoſtile ground, were deſtroyed by thunder and lightning. So holy has this temple been from the beginning.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVI.

ON the right hand of the temple of the Cabiri, there is a plain which is called Tenerus, from the prophet Tenerus, who they ſay was the ſon of Apollo and Melia. Here too there is a large temple of Hercules, who is called Ippodotos. For they report that the Orchomenians came to this place with an army, and that Hercules, ſeizing their horſes in the night, bound them in ſuch a manner to their chariots, as to prevent their being uſeful in the war. On proceeding from hence, you will arrive at a mountain, from whence, according to report, the Sphinx uſed to ruſh in order to deſtroy thoſe that could not ſolve the riddles which ſhe ſang to them: though others aſſert that ſhe uſed to drive to Anthedon with a naval force after the manner of pirates, and afterwards exerciſe her robberies from this mountain, till Oedipus ſlew her by means of a numerous army which he brought from Corinth. It is alſo ſaid, that ſhe was the baſtard daughter of Laius, and that her father taught her the oracle which was given to Cadmus at Delphos, through his kindneſs towards her. Prior to the Theban kings, indeed, no one was acquainted with the meaning of the oracle; and theſe in ſucceſſion unfolded it to each other. As often, therefore, as any diſpute aroſe reſpecting the kingdom, the neighbouring people came to conſult Sphinx. Laius, indeed, had ſons by his miſtreſſes; but they ſay that the meaning of the oracle given by the Pythian deity was only known to Epicaſte, and the children which Laius had by her. They add, that the brothers were circumvented by the

the ſophiſms of Sphinx; and that upon her inquiring whether, if they were the ſons of Laius, they knew the oracle given to Cadmus, if they anſwered in the negative, ſhe condemned them to death, as not being entitled by their birth to the kingdom. Laſtly, it is ſaid that the interpretation of the oracle was given to Oedipus in a dream, who was by this means enabled to ſolve the riddle of Sphinx.

The ruins of the city Oncheſtus are about fifteen ſtadia diſtant from this mountain: and they ſay that Oncheſtus the ſon of Neptune once dwelt in this city. At preſent, indeed, a temple and ſtatue of Oncheſtian Neptune remain: and there is likewiſe a grove here which is celebrated by Homer. On turning from the temple of the Cabiri to the left hand, and proceeding to the diſtance of about fifty ſtadia, you will arrive at the city Theſpia, which is ſituated under mount Helicon, and is ſaid to have been denominated from Theſpia the daughter of Aſopus. According to ſome, Theſpius, when he left Athens, gave this name to the city; and they ſay that he was the ſon of Erechtheus. Among the Theſpians, there is even at preſent a brazen ſtatue of Jupiter the Saviour. They report, that the city being once infeſted with a dragon, Jupiter ordered them to expoſe every year to the ſavage animal certain young men choſen by lot; and that the names of thoſe that periſhed except one ſunk into oblivion. The name of this one was Cleoſtratus, who had a brazen coat of mail made for him by his lover Meneſtratus. This coat of mail was thick ſet with hooks turned upwards: and Cleoſtratus, armed with this, very readily went forth to meet the dragon; and was indeed himſelf ſlain, but at the ſame time was the deſtruction of the ſavage beaſt.

From

From this circumſtance Jupiter came to be called Saviour. They have beſides a ſtatue of Bacchus, another of Fortune, a third of Hygia, and a fourth of Minerva; by the ſide of whom there is a ſtatue of Plutus.

CHAP. XXVII.

BUT the Theſpians venerated, from the firſt, Love beyond all the gods: and they have a moſt ancient ſtatue of this divinity, which is nothing more than a rude ſtone. I do not however know who it was that inſtituted this high veneration of Love among the Theſpians. The Pariani, too, who dwell about the Helleſpont, and who originated from Ionia, and migrated hither from Erythræ, but at preſent are in ſubjection to the Romans, venerate this divinity no leſs than the Theſpians. The multitude are of opinion, that Love is the youngeſt of the gods, and the ſon of Venus. But the Lycian Olen, who compoſed the moſt ancient hymns for the Greeks, ſays in his hymn to Lucina, that Lucina is the mother of Love. And Pamphus and Orpheus, who flouriſhed after Olen, have compoſed hymns to Love, that they might be ſung by the Lycomedæ during the celebration of the myſteries. I likewiſe once ſpoke with a torch-bearer of the Eleuſinian myſteries, and through his means read theſe hymns of Pamphus and Orpheus, of which I ſhall make no farther mention. Heſiod, indeed, or at leaſt the author of the Theogony, I well know, ſays, that Chaos was firſt *generated*, afterwards Earth, and then Tartarus and Love. But the Leſbian Sappho ſings many things of Love, which by no means harmonize with each other. Lyſippus afterwards made a brazen ſtatue

ſtatue of Love for the Theſpians; and prior to him Praxiteles made one of Pentelican ſtone. With reſpect to the ſtratagem which Phryne employed, in order to diſcover the favourite ſtatue of Praxiteles, this I have elſewhere related. They ſay, that this ſtatue of Love was firſt moved out of its place, by the Roman emperor Caius. It was afterwards ſent back to the Theſpians by Claudius; and again brought to Rome by Nero, where it was deſtroyed by fire. Of thoſe, however, who acted thus impiouſly towards this divinity, one man was ſlain by a ſoldier, whom he uſed to nick-name in deriſion; and Nero acted very impiouſly towards his mother, and behaved with a cruelty towards his wives, which ſhewed that he was entirely deſtitute of Love.

But the ſtatue of Love, which is at preſent among the Theſpians, was made by the Athenian Menodorus, in imitation of the manner of Praxiteles. In this place too there is a Venus and a ſtatue of Phryne, both of ſtone, and the works of Praxiteles. In another part of the city there is a temple of Venus *Melainis*, or *the black*: there are beſides a theatre, and a forum, well worthy of inſpection. Here likewiſe there is a brazen ſtatue of Heſiod: and not far from the forum there are a brazen ſtatue of Victory, and a temple of the Muſes not very large. In this temple there are ſmall ſtatues of ſtone. The Theſpians too have a temple of Hercules; the prieſteſs of which retains her virginity as long as ſhe lives. They ſay that this aroſe from the following circumſtance: Hercules had connection with all the fifty daughters of Theſtius except one, in one night: and this one, who was unwilling to be connected with him, was choſen by him as his prieſteſs, but with this reſtriction, that ſhe ſhould remain all her life a virgin. But

I have

I have heard another account of this affair, that Hercules was connected with all the fifty daughters of Theſtius in one night, that they all bore him ſons, and the youngeſt and oldeſt of theſe daughters were each of them delivered of twins. However, for my own part, I can never be induced to believe, that Hercules could be excited to ſuch a violent anger againſt the daughter of his friend. Beſides, it is not probable, that he who, while he was among men, puniſhed the inſolent behaviour of others, and particularly revenged impiety towards the gods, would build a temple, and appoint a prieſteſs for himſelf as if he was a god. But to me, indeed, it appears, that this temple is more ancient than the period in which Hercules the ſon of Amphitryon lived: and I do not know, whether the dedication of this temple ought not to be aſcribed to the Hercules who is one of the Idæi Dactyli, as I have diſcovered that the Erythræans in Ionia, and the Tyrians have raiſed temples to him. Nor are the Bœotians ignorant of this name of Hercules; for they ſay, that the temple of Mycaleſſian Ceres was committed to the care of the Idæan Hercules.

CHAP. XXVIII.

THE mountain Helicon excels all the mountains in Greece for the goodneſs of its ſoil, and the multitude of trees which it contains. The young ſhoots of purſlain too, with which it abounds, yield the ſweeteſt fruit. The inhabitants of Helicon ſay, that none of the herbs or roots which are produced in this mountain are deſtructive

to

to mankind. They add, that the paſtures here even debilitate the venom of ſerpents; ſo that thoſe who are frequently bit by ſerpents in this part, eſcape the danger with greater eaſe than if they were of the nation of the Pſylli, or had diſcovered an antidote againſt poiſon. Otherwiſe the venom of the fierceſt of ſerpents is both deſtructive to men, and all other animals. The nature of the paſtures too contributes in no ſmall degree to the ſtrength of the venom. For I once heard a Phœnician ſay, that in the mountainous part of Phœnicia, the roots that grow there render the vipers more fierce. The ſame perſon too farther added, that he ſaw a viper purſue a man who fled to a tree for ſhelter, and that the viper blew its venom againſt the tree to which the man had eſcaped, and by this means cauſed his death. With reſpect to thoſe vipers in Arabia which take up their reſidence among balſam trees, I know that ſomething very different from what I have above related happens, and this is as follows: The balſam tree is nearly of the ſame ſize as a ſprig of myrtle; and its leaves are like thoſe of the herb ſweet-marjoram. Vipers take up their reſidence about theſe plants; and are in ſome places more numerous than in others: for the juice of the balſam tree is their ſweeteſt food; and they are delighted with the ſhade produced by its leaves. When the time therefore arrives for gathering the juice of this tree, the Arabians come into the ſacred grove, each of them holding two twigs. By ſhaking theſe they put to flight the vipers: for they are unwilling to kill them, becauſe they conſider them as the ſacred inhabitants of the balſam. And if it happens that any one is wounded by a viper, the wound reſembles that which is made by iron, but is not attended with any dangerous conſequences:

quences: for theſe animals being fed with the juice of the balſam-tree, which is the moſt odoriferous of all trees, their poiſon becomes changed from a deadly quality into one which produces a milder effect.

CHAP. XXIX.

BUT they ſay, that Ephialtes and Otus conſecrated this mountain to the Muſes, and were the firſt that ſacrificed to theſe divinities in Helicon. They likewiſe report that Aſcra was built by theſe. And Hegeſinous, in his poem on the Attic land, thus ſpeaks concerning Aſcra:

> With Aſcra mingling once, th' earth-ſhaking power,
> When rolling years their rounds had run, begat
> A ſon nam'd Oeclus, who Aſcra built,
> Aſſiſted by Aloeus' offspring, near
> The ſtreams of Helicon's inriguous feet.

I never read the poetical compoſitions of Hegeſinous; for they were not extant when I was born. But Calippus the Corinthian, in his hiſtory of the Orchomenians, cites the verſes of Hegeſinous in proof of what he aſſerts: and hence, I have taken theſe verſes from Calippus. At preſent a tower remains in Aſcra; but of every thing elſe even the remembrance has periſhed. The ſons of Aloeus were of opinion, that there were only three Muſes; and theſe they called *Melete*, *Mneme*, and *Aoide*, which ſignify *meditation*, *memory*, and *ſinging*. But they ſay, that in after times, Pierus the Macedonian, from whom a mountain in Macedonia is denominated, came to Theſpia, and ordered that nine Muſes ſhould be worſhipped by the names which they

they retain at preſent. And this alteration was made by Pierus, either becauſe it appeared to him to be wiſer, or in conſequence of ſome oracle, or as the reſult of what he had learned from the Thracians. For formerly the Thracians ſeem to have excelled the Macedonians in dexterity in human affairs, and not to have been ſo negligent as they were in divine concerns. There are thoſe, too, who ſay that Pierus had nine daughters, and that he called them by the names of the Muſes; and that the grandchildren of Pierus by theſe daughters were called by the names which the Greeks give to the offspring of the Muſes. But Mimnermus, who compoſed elegies reſpecting the battle of the Smyrnæans againſt Gyges and the Lydians, ſays in the preface to this work, that the more ancient Muſes are the daughters of Heaven, and that thoſe of poſterior origin are the daughters of Jupiter.

In Helicon, too, as you go to the grove of the Muſes, you will ſee on the left hand the fountain Aganippe. They ſay that Aganippe was the daughter of Termeſſus, which flows round mount Helicon. But if you proceed to this grove in a ſtraight line, you will ſee a ſtone image of Eupheme. This Eupheme is ſaid to have been the nurſe of the Muſes. After her image there is a ſtatue of Linus in a ſmall ſtone, which is carved ſo as to reſemble a cavern. They perform funeral ſacrifices every year to this poet, before they ſacrifice to the Muſes. It is ſaid that Linus was the ſon of Urania by Amphiaraus the ſon of Neptune. The renown which he acquired for his ſkill in muſic, was ſuperior not only to that of his contemporaries, but to that of all his predeceſſors: and he is ſaid to have been ſlain by Apollo for attempting to compare his ſkill in ſinging with that of the god. Indeed the death of Linus

was

was lamented by every barbarous nation; and among the Egyptians there is a ſong which the Greeks call Linus: for this ſong is denominated by the Egyptians *Maneroon.* But the Greeks, and among theſe Homer, mention this ſong as Grecian. For Homer, being well acquainted with the misfortune of Linus, ſays that Vulcan repreſented, among other things, in the ſhield of Achilles, a boy playing on a harp, and ſinging the fate of Linus:

> "To theſe a youth awakes the warbling ſtrings,
> Whoſe tender lay the fate of Linus ſings."

But Pamphus, who compoſed the moſt ancient hymns for the Athenians, ſays, that grief for the death of Linus increaſed to that degree, that he came to be called *Oitolinos*, or *lamentable Linus.* And afterwards the Leſbian Sappho, having learnt the name Oitolinos from the verſes of Pamphus, celebrates in her poems Adonis and Oitolinos. The Thebans too boaſt that Linus was buried in their country; and they ſay, that after the loſs of the Greeks at Chæronea, Philip the ſon of Amyntas, in conſequence of a viſion in a dream, brought the bones of Linus to Macedonia; and afterwards, from another dream, carried back the bones to Thebes. The covering however of this tomb, and every thing elſe belonging to it, have, they ſay, been obliterated through length of time. The Thebans likewiſe aſſert, that there was a junior Linus, the ſon of Iſmenius; and that when but a boy he was ſlain by Hercules, whom he inſtructed in muſic. However, neither the Linus the ſon of Amphimarus, nor he who was the ſon of Iſmenius, compoſed any thing in verſe; or, if they did, it has not been tranſmitted to poſterity.

CHAP. XXX.

THE ancient ſtatues of all the Muſes here were made by Cephiſodotus. And on proceeding to no great diſtance from hence, you will ſee three Muſes which were made by Cephiſodotus, and after theſe the ſame number of Muſes the works of Strongylion, who made oxen and horſes after the beſt manner. The remaining three Muſes were made by Olympioſthenes. In Helicon too there are a brazen Apollo and a Mercury contending with each other about a lyre. There is likewiſe a Bacchus the work of Lyſippus: for the upright ſtatue of Bacchus, which was dedicated by Sylla, was made by Myron, and except his ſtatue of Erechtheus, deſerves to be inſpected beyond all his works at Athens. Sylla, however, did not dedicate this ſtatue out of his own poſſeſſions, but took it from the Orchomenian Minyæ. And this is what the Greeks call venerating a divine nature with foreign fumigations. Here too you may ſee the ſtatues of poets and illuſtrious muſicians. Among theſe there are Thamyris now blind, and handling a broken lyre; and the Methymnæan Arion ſiting on a dolphin. But he who made the ſtatue of the Argive Sacadas, from not underſtanding the exordium of Pindar's verſes upon him, has made this piper not greater as to the length of his body than his pipes. Heſiod too ſits here holding a harp on his knees, though this was not his uſual attitude: for it is evident from his poems, that he uſed to ſing near a twig of laurel. With reſpect to the age of Heſiod and Homer, though I have made

the moſt diligent and accurate inquiry, it is not agreeable to me to give my opinion on this ſubject, as I know that it has occaſioned great diſputes among men of former times, and that there is no ſmall contention about it among poets of the preſent day. There is a ſtatue here too of the Thracian Orpheus, with *Telete*, or *myſtic ſacrifice*, ſtanding by his ſide. He is repreſented ſinging, and is ſurrounded by wild beaſts faſhioned from braſs and ſtone, who are liſtening to his ſong. The Greeks, indeed, believe many things which are by no means true, and this among the reſt, that Orpheus was the ſon of the Muſe Calliope, and not of that Calliope who was the daughter of Pierus; that he allured wild beaſts by the melody of his lyre; and that he deſcended to Hades while alive, for the purpoſe of requeſting the infernal gods to reſtore him back his wife. But it appears to me, that Orpheus ſurpaſſed all the poets that were prior to him in the elegance of his compoſitions, and that he acquired great authority in conſequence of the general opinion, that he invented the myſteries of the gods, purifications for impious actions, remedies for diſeaſes, and the methods of appeaſing the wrath of divinity.

They report too concerning him, that the Thracian women endeavoured to take away his life by ſtratagem, becauſe he perſuaded their huſbands to attend him in his wanderings, but that they had not the boldneſs ſo put this deſign in execution through fear of their huſbands: at length, however, by drinking largely of wine, they accompliſhed this daring project. Hence, they ſay, it came to be eſtabliſhed by law, that men ſhould be led to battle intoxicated. There are others again who ſay, that Orpheus was killed by lightning, on account of having taught

things in the myſteries which men were unacquainted with before. It is likewiſe reported of Orpheus, that after the death of his wife, he came in conſequence of it to Aornus in Theſprotia, becauſe there was an ancient oracle there of departed ſpirits; that when he came here he expected the ſoul of Eurydice would follow him; but that finding himſelf diſappointed, he ſlew himſelf through grief. The Thracians add, that the nightingales, which build their neſts about the ſepulchre of Orpheus, ſing ſweeter and louder than other nightingales. But the Macedonians, who inhabit the country under the Pierian mountain, and the city Dios, ſay that Orpheus was ſlain in that place by women. On proceeding from Dios to the mountain at about the diſtance of twenty ſtadia, you will ſee a pillar on the right hand, and upon it a ſtone urn, which, according to the inhabitants of this place, contains the bones of Orpheus. The river Helicon flows through this part of the country, and at the diſtance of eighty-five ſtadia hides itſelf in the earth. Afterwards having concealed itſelf for about twenty-two ſtadia, it again riſes, and, aſſuming the name of Baphyræ inſtead of Helicon, becomes a navigable river, and pours itſelf into the ſea. The Diatæ ſay, that this river at firſt ran in an open channel; but that when the women who ſlew Orpheus attempted to waſh themſelves from his blood in it, then it ſunk into the earth, that its water might not be the means of purifying them from his murder.

I have likewiſe heard a different report from this in Lariſſa: that formerly there was a city in Olympus called Libethra, and which ſtood in that part of the mountain which is turned towards Macedonia: that the ſepulchre of Orpheus is not far from hence; and that an oracle of Bacchus

Bacchus was tranſmitted to the Libethrians from Thrace, informing them that their city would be deſtroyed by *Sus* whenever the ſun ſhould behold the bones of Orpheus. The Libethrians, however, did not pay much attention to the oracle, becauſe they did not believe that there could be any wild beaſt ſufficiently large and ſtrong to deſtroy their city; and as to the boar, they were perſuaded that its boldneſs was ſuperior to its ſtrength. However, when it ſeemed fit to divinity the following circumſtances took place: A ſhepherd about mid-day, being weary laid himſelf down by the tomb of Orpheus, and in his ſleep began to ſing the verſes of that poet with a loud and ſweet voice. The neighbouring ſhepherds therefore and huſbandmen, allured by this harmony, left their employments, and gathered themſelves round the ſleeping ſhepherd. But it ſo happened, from their puſhing againſt, and ſtriving to outſtrip each other in getting near the ſhepherd, that they overturned the pillar, broke the urn which contained the bones of Orpheus, and by this means cauſed them to be ſeen by the ſun. Afterwards, on the following night, divinity cauſed it to rain in abundance; and the river *Sus*, which is one of the torrents about Olympus, ruſhed with ſuch impetuoſity againſt the walls of the Libethrians, that it threw them down, together with all the temples and houſes, and drowned all the men and animals that were in the city. The Libethrians therefore becoming extinct, the Macedonians that dwelt in Dios (as a Lariſſæan, who was my gueſt, informed me) conveyed the bones of Orpheus to their own country. But thoſe who are converſant with the writings of the poets, know with reſpect to the hymns of Orpheus, that each of them is very ſhort, and that the whole of them

does not amount to any conſiderable number. The Lycomedæ are well acquainted with them, and ſing them in the myſteries of Ceres. Theſe hymns are next to thoſe of Homer for the elegance of their compoſition; but on account of their ſuperior ſanctity, they are preferred for religious purpoſes to thoſe of Homer.

CHAP. XXXI.

IN Helicon too there is a ſtatue of Arſinoe, whom Ptolemy married though ſhe was his ſiſter. A brazen oſtrich ſupports this ſtatue. Theſe birds indeed have wings naturally like other birds, but through the weight and magnitude of their bodies they are unable to raiſe themſelves into the air. Here likewiſe there are a hind ſuckling Telephus the ſon of Hercules, and an ox ſtanding near her. Beſides theſe there is a ſtatue of Priapus, which deſerves to be inſpected. This god is honoured in other places by thoſe who take care of goats, ſheep, or bee-hives: but the Lampſaceni venerate him beyond all the other divinities, and aſſert that he is the ſon of Bacchus and Venus. Among other tripods too which are dedicated in Helicon there is a moſt ancient one, which they ſay Heſiod received in Chalcis by the Euripus, in conſequence of a victory which he gained by his verſes. The grove here is ſurrounded with inhabitants: and the Theſpians celebrate a feſtival in this place, and games which they call *Mouſeia*, or, *ſacred to the Muſes*. They alſo celebrate games in honour of Love, in which rewards are not only propoſed to muſicians, but likewiſe to the athletæ. On aſcending from this grove to the diſtance of twenty ſtadia,

ſtadia, you will ſee a fountain, which is called the fountain of the horſe. They ſay, that the horſe of Bellerophon made this fountain by ſtriking the earth with his hoof. But the Boeotians that dwell about Helicon have a tradition among them, that Heſiod wrote nothing beſides the poem entitled *Works and Days*; and from this they take away the introduction to the Muſes, and ſay that the proper beginning of the poem is that part which ſpeaks of Contentions. They ſhewed me too a leaden table near the fountain, which was almoſt entirely rotten through age, but on which the *Works and Days* of Heſiod was written. Their opinion, however, who aſcribe many works to Heſiod, is very different from this. And, according to theſe, he compoſed a poem *On Women*; *The Great Eoeæ*; *The Theogony*; *Verſes on the Prophet Melampus*; *The Deſcent of Theſeus with Pirithous to Hades*; *The Exhortation of Chiron*, viz. *relative to the inſtruction of Achilles*; and the poem called *Works and Days*.

The ſame perſons too aſſert, that Heſiod was inſtructed in divination by the Acarnanes: and, indeed, a poem of Heſiod *On Divination* is extant, which I have read, together with *The Narrations of Prodigies*, which are at the end of it. Contrary reports likewiſe are circulated about the death of Heſiod. For though it is univerſally agreed, that the ſons of Ganyctor, Ctimenus, and Antiphus, fled to Molucria from Naupactus on account of the murder of Heſiod, and that through their impiety to Neptune they were puniſhed there, yet ſome are of opinion, that Heſiod was falſely accuſed of having raviſhed the ſiſter of theſe young men, and others aſſert, that ſhe was raviſhed by him. And ſuch are the different reports which are circulated about Heſiod and his works. On the top of

mount Helicon is the river Lamus, which is not large; and in the borders of the Theſpians there is a place called Hedonacon, which contains the fountain of Narciſſus. They ſay that Narciſſus beheld himſelf in this fountain; that he did not know he was in love himſelf; and that he died through this love by the ſide of the fountain. To be in love indeed with a ſhadow, and not to know the difference between a man and the ſhadow of a man, is ſtupidity in the extreme. But there is another report concerning Narciſſus, which is leſs known than the former one; and this is, that he had a twin ſiſter, who perfectly reſembled him in her whole form, that her hair and dreſs were ſimilar to thoſe of Narciſſus, and that they uſed to go out together to hunt. That Narciſſus fell in love with this ſiſter; and that ſhe happening to die before him, he uſed to come to this fountain, in which, when he ſaw his own ſhadow, without at the ſame time perceiving that it was his own, he found ſome mitigation of the torments of his love, by imagining that it was the image of his ſiſter. It appears to me, however, that the earth produced the flower Narciſſus, prior to this circumſtance; and my opinion is confirmed by the verſes of Pamphus. For he ſays, that many years before the Theſpian Narciſſus, Proſerpine the daughter of Ceres was forcibly taken away by Pluto, as ſhe was playing and gathering flowers; and that ſhe was deceived not by violets, but by the narciſſus.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXII.

THOSE that dwell in Creuſis, which is a haven of the Theſpians, have no public building or ſtatue which deſerves to be mentioned: but in the houſe of a private perſon in Creuſis there is a ſtatue of Bacchus, which is made of plaſter, and adorned with pictures. But the paſſage by ſea to Creuſis from Peloponneſus is winding and ſtormy. The promontories which run into the ſea, give ſuch a curvature to the ſhores, that ſhips cannot ſail in a direct line, and the winds blow violently from the neighbouring mountains. On ſailing from Creuſis, not upwards but near Bœotia, you will ſee the city Thiſbe on the right hand. And in the firſt place there is a mountain near the ſea. When you have paſſed beyond this you will ſee a plain, and after this another mountain, in the bottom part of which there is a city. In this city there is a temple of Hercules, and in it a ſtone ſtatue in an upright poſition. They celebrate here a feſtival, which they call *Heracleia*. Nothing would hinder the plain which lies here between the mountains from becoming a lake, through the great quantity of water in this part, if they did not raiſe a ſtrong bank through the middle of the plain, turn the water every year to places beyond the bank, and cultivate the other parts of the plain. They ſay that the nymph Thiſbe, from whom the city is denominated, was a native of this place. On ſailing from hence you will ſee a ſmall city near the ſea, which is called Tipha. There is a temple of Hercules here, in which they celebrate a feſtival

feſtival annually. The Tiphæenſes aſſert, that they excelled from the firſt all the other Bœotians in the knowledge of maritime affairs, and that Tiphys, who was choſen to be the pilot of the ſhip Argo, was a native of their country.

Before the city too they ſhew a place, to which they ſay the Argo drove when it returned from Colchis. On proceeding upwards from Theſpia towards the continent, you will arrive at the city Haliartus. But it is not proper that I ſhould ſeparate from my account of the Orchomenian affairs, the particulars reſpecting the builder of this city and Coronea. In the Perſian war, one part of the army of Xerxes laid waſte with fire and ſword the land and city of the Haliartians, on account of their attachment to the intereſt of the Greeks. But in Haliartus there is a ſepulchre of Lyſandra the Lacedæmonian. For when he drew near to Haliartus in order to attack its walls, as the city was defended within by an army of Athenians and Thebans, theſe forces leaving the city, a battle enſued, in which Lyſander was ſlain. Indeed, Lyſander appears to me to have merited, by his conduct, both the greateſt praiſe and blame. For he gave a ſpecimen of conſummate ſagacity in warlike affairs when he commanded the Peloponneſian fleet. For having attentively watched the motions of Antiochus the pilot of Alcibiades, at that time when the commander was abſent, he induced him to hope, that he would be able to engage in a naval battle with the Lacedæmonians, and afterwards vanquiſhed him truſting to his arrogance and temerity, not far from the walls of the Colophonians. Lyſander, too, when he was again choſen by the Spartans to command their three-oared galleys, ſo mitigated the anger of Cyrus, that as often

often as he requeſted money for the uſe of his fleet, Cyrus ſeaſonably and liberally ſupplied him with it. And when the Athenians had one hundred veſſels ſtationed in Ægoſpotamos, Lyſander made them his prize, through taking advantage of the time when the ſailors went on ſhore in order to lay in water and freſh proviſions.

He likewiſe exhibited the following ſpecimen of juſtice: A diſpute about money happened to take place, between Autolycus the pancratiaſt, whoſe image I have ſeen in the Prytaneum at Athens, and Eteonicus a Spartan. Here the Spartan, whoſe abilities in defending his cauſe were inferior to thoſe of Autolycus, behaved notwithſtanding ſo inſolently, becauſe the city of the Athenians was at that time in the power of the thirty tyrants, and Lyſander was preſent, that he ſtruck his adverſary, and becauſe Autolycus defended himſelf, brought him to Lyſander, expecting that he would decide the affair in his favour. Lyſander, however, accuſed Eteonicus of having acted unjuſtly, and diſmiſſed him with reproaches and diſgrace. Theſe actions therefore raiſed the reputation of Lyſander: but the following diſgraced his character: At Ægoſpotamos he ſlew Philocles the Athenian, who was one of the commanders of the Athenian fleet, and four thouſand Athenian captives beſides, and would not ſuffer them to be buried, though the Athenians permitted the Perſians that fell at Marathon, and Xerxes thoſe Lacedæmonians that died at Thermopylæ, to be buried. Afterwards, too, a greater diſgrace befel the Lacedæmonians through Lyſander; and this was by his placing *Decadarchs*, or *companies of ten men*, over the cities that were in alliance with the Lacedæmonians, and beſides theſe Laconic *Harmoſtai*, or, *apt adminiſtrators of affairs*. And laſtly, when the Spartans took

no

no care to acquire wealth, and this in conſequence of an oracle, which declared, that the deſire of riches would be the only thing deſtructive to Sparta, Lyſander inflamed them with a vehement deſire of becoming rich. Hence, following the opinion of the Perſians, and judging according to their law, I conclude that Lyſander was more hurtful than uſeful to the Lacedæmonians.

CHAP. XXXIII.

BUT in Haliartus there is a ſepulchre of Lyſander, and an heroic monument of Cecrops the ſon of Pandion. The mountain too, Tilphuſſius, and the fountain Tilphuſſa, are about fifty ſtadia diſtant from Haliartus. It is ſaid by the Greeks, that when the Argives together with the ſons of Polynices took Thebes, as they were leading along the prophet Tireſias, with their other ſpoils, to the Delphic Apollo, the prophet being thirſty by the way drank of the fountain Tilphuſſa, and immediately after expired. His ſepulchre therefore is near this fountain. They ſay, too, that Manto the daughter of Tireſias was given to Apollo by the Argives; but that by order of the god ſhe paſſed over in a ſhip to Colophon in Ionia, and there married Rhacius the Cretan. With reſpect to other particulars about Tireſias, ſuch as the number of years which he lived, his being changed from a man into a woman, and what Homer aſſerts of him in the Odyſſey, that he was the only wiſe perſon in Hades—theſe are known to every one. Among the Haliartians too there is in the open air a temple of thoſe goddeſſes who are called *Praxidicai*, or, *the avengers*

avengers of actions. They ſwear on the altars of theſe goddeſſes, and never violate the oath which they have thus taken. This temple is near the mountain Tilphuſſius. But in Haliartus there are temples in which there are no ſtatues, becauſe the temples are without roofs. To what divinities theſe were dedicated I have not been able to learn. The river Lophis flows through the Haliartian land. It is ſaid, that this country at firſt was very dry, owing to its being totally deſtitute of water, and that one of the principal inhabitants went to Delphos to inquire by what means water might be found: that the Pythian deity anſwered him, that he muſt ſlay the firſt perſon he met on his return to Haliartus; and that he happening to meet firſt of all with Lophis the ſon of Parthenomenes, immediately ſtruck the youth with his ſword. That Lophis yet breathing ran round the place in which he was wounded; that wherever his blood fell on the ground there water aſcended; and that from this circumſtance the river was called Lophis.

Alalcomenæ is a village by no means large, and is ſituated at the extremities of a mountain not very lofty. They ſay, that this place was denominated from a native Alalcomenes, who was the nurſe of Minerva. But, according to others, it was called after Alalcomenia, who was the daughter of Ogygus. At ſome diſtance from this village a temple of Minerva ſtands in a plain; and in it there is an ancient ſtatue of ivory. Sylla, indeed, was guilty of many cruelties towards the Athenians, and his conduct was very different from the manners of the Romans. His behaviour too towards the Thebans and Orchomenians reſembled his conduct towards the Athenians: and from the Alalcomenians he took away this ſtatue

ſtatue of Minerva. This man, however, who ſo furiouſly captured the Grecian cities, and carried away the ſtatues of their gods, was tormented with the moſt unpleaſant of all diſeaſes. For his body was covered with lice: and his former good fortune was terminated by ſo calamitous an end. But the temple in Alalcomenæ was neglected after this event, as being deprived of its divinity. Another circumſtance too happened in my time, which contributed to the diſſolution of the temple. A large and ſtrong ivy, which grew by the ſide of the temple, deſtroyed the cement of the ſtones, and ſeparated them from each other. A torrent not very large, which they call Triton, flows here: and they ſay it was thus denominated, becauſe Minerva was educated near the river Triton; juſt as if this torrent was the river Triton, and not that which, proceeding from the marſh Tritonis in Africa, pours itſelf into the Lybian ſea.

CHAP. XXXIV.

BEFORE you arrive at Coronea from Alalcomenæ, you will ſee a temple of Minerva Itonia. This name was given to the goddeſs by Itonus the ſon of Amphictyon. The Bœotians aſſemble together in this place in order to form a common convention. In this temple there are brazen ſtatues of Minerva Itonia, and Jupiter. Theſe were made by Agoracritos, the diſciple and lover of Phidias. Statues too of the Graces were dedicated here in my time. It is ſaid that Iodamia, who officiated as prieſteſs to the goddeſs, once came by night within the

ſacred

ſacred encloſure of the temple, and that Minerva appeared to her, inveſted with a robe, in which there was the head of Meduſa: that Iodamia, as ſoon as ſhe beheld it, became a ſtone; and that on this account, a woman places fire every day on the altar of Iodamia, and ſays thrice in the Bœotian tongue, that Iodamia lives, and calls for fire. The remarkable particulars which Coronea contains, are an altar of Mercury Epimelius in the forum, and an altar of the Winds. A little below theſe there is a temple of Juno, and in it an ancient ſtatue, which was made by the Theban Pythodorus. This ſtatue holds Sirens in one of its hands. For they ſay, that the daughters of Achelous were perſuaded by Juno to contend in ſinging with the Muſes; and that the Muſes, being victorious, plucked off the wings of the Sirens, and made crowns from them. The mountain Libethrius is about forty ſtadia diſtant from Coronea. In this mountain there are ſtatues of the Libethrian Muſes and Nymphs. There are likewiſe two fountains here, one of which they call *Libethrias*, and the other *Petra*, or *a rock*. Theſe fountains reſemble the breaſts of women, and water reſembling milk aſcends from them. To the mountain Laphyſtion, and the grove of Jupiter Laphyſtius from Coronea the diſtance is twenty ſtadia. There is a ſtone ſtatue of the god in this grove: and they ſay, that when Athamas was about to ſacrifice Phrixus and Helle here, the ſons of Jupiter ſent a ram whoſe wool was golden, upon the back of which they eſcaped. Above this grove there is a place called Hercules *Charops*, or *the grey-eyed*: and the Bœotians ſay, that Hercules aſcended here, dragging up the dog of Hades.

On

On deſcending from the mountain Laphyſtion to the temple of Minerva Itonia, you will ſee the river Phalarus running into the lake Cephiſſis. Beyond the mountain Laphyſtion is Orchomenus, an illuſtrious and renowned Grecian city, which once arrived at the higheſt degree of felicity, and which was deſtroyed by nearly the ſame means as Mycene and Delos. The following particulars are handed down to us reſpecting its ancient affairs. They ſay, that Andreus the ſon of the river Peneus, firſt of all dwelt in this place, and that from him the country was denominated Andreis. That Athamas, becoming acquainted with him, gave him all the country about the mountain Laphyſtion, together with that region which is now called Coronea and Haliartia. But Athamas, being of opinion that he ſhould not leave any male children behind him (becauſe he called to mind his conduct, when inſane, towards Learchus and Melicerte, Leucon had died through diſeaſe, and he was ignorant whether Phrixus was alive, or had any children), on this account he adopted Coronus and Haliartus, the ſons of Therſander, who was the ſon of Siſyphus: for Athamas was the brother of Siſyphus. However, when Phrixus, as ſome ſay, or Preſbon, according to others, who was the ſon of Phrixus by the daughter of Æetes, returned from the Colchi, the ſons of Therſander gave up the kingdom of Athamas to Athamas and his progeny. Theſe, therefore, having received from Athamas a part of the land, built Haliartus and Coronea. But prior to the return of theſe, Evippe the daughter of Leucon was given in marriage by Athamas to Andreus: and by her he had Eteocles; though it is reported by the citizens, that Eteocles was the ſon of the river Cephiſus.

Hence,

Hence, certain poets call Eteocles in their verſes, Cephiſiades. This Eteocles, when he began to reign, ſuffered them to call the country from Andreus. But he inſtituted two tribes, one of which he ordered to be called Cephiſiades, and the other after his own name Eteoclea. When Halmus, too, the ſon of Siſyphus, came to him, he gave him but a ſmall part of the country for his portion: and the towns were called Halmones from Halmus. But in after times, one town alone came to be called Halmones.

CHAP. XXXV.

THE Bœotians, too, ſay that Eteocles was the firſt that ſacrificed to the Graces. And, indeed, that he eſtabliſhed three Graces they are well convinced; but they have loſt the remembrance of the names which he gave them. For the Lacedæmonians only worſhip two Graces, the ſtatues of which, they ſay, were dedicated by Lacedæmon the ſon of Taygete, who alſo gave them the names of Cleta and Phaenna. Theſe names, indeed, are very properly given to the Graces, as likewiſe are thoſe names which are aſſigned to the Graces by the Athenians. For the Athenians have from ancient times venerated the Graces, Auxo and Hegemone. And as to Carpus, it is not a name of one of the Graces, but of one of the Seaſons. But the Athenians worſhip the other of the Seaſons, together with Pandroſus, and call this divinity *Thallote*, or *the flouriſhing*. Indeed, we now pray to three Graces, having learnt that there are three from the Orchomenian Eteocles. Thoſe, too, that have made ſtatues of Bacchus have

placed three Graces in the hands of the god, juſt as Angelion and Tectæus have done to the Delphic Apollo. And at Athens, in the veſtibule of the tower there are three Graces, whoſe myſteries, which are kept ſecret from the multitude, are there celebrated. But Pamphus is the firſt we are acquainted with, that celebrated the Graces in verſe: but he neither mentions their number, nor their names. Homer too makes mention of the Graces, and ſays that one of theſe is the wife of Vulcan, and that her name is Charis. He alſo ſays, that Sleep is the lover of the Grace Paſithea: and in the ſpeech of Sleep, he has the following verſe:

> "That ſhe my lov'd-one ſhall be ever mine,
> The youngeſt Grace, Paſithea the divine."

Hence ſome have ſuſpected that Homer knew of other more ancient Graces.

But Heſiod in the Theogony (if that work be the compoſition of Heſiod) ſays that the Graces are the daughters of Jupiter and Eurynome, and that their names are Euphroſyne, Aglaia, and Thalia. Onomacritus, too, in his verſes gives them the ſame names. But Antimachus neither mentions the number, nor the names of the Graces, but only ſays, that they are the daughters of Aigle and the Sun. Hermeſianax the writer of elegies ſays, what no one before him ever aſſerted, that *Pitho*, or *perſuaſion*, is one of the Graces. But I have not been able to find, who the firſt perſon was, that either by a ſtatue or picture repreſented the Graces naked. For the more ancient ſtatues and pictures of the Graces have garments. Thus among the Smyrnæans in the temple of the Nemeſes, among the other ſtatues, there are Graces faſhioned of gold, which were

were made by Bupalus. And in the Odeum there is a picture of a Grace, which was painted by Apelles. Among the Pergamenians too, in the bed-chamber of Attalus, and in the temple which they call Puthion, there are Graces which were painted by the Parian Pythagoras. Beſides all theſe, Socrates the ſon of Sophroniſcus made a ſtatue of the Graces for the Athenians, which is placed in the veſtibule of their tower. Theſe are all in a ſimilar manner clothed: and I cannot tell for what reaſon men in after times, in their ſtatues and pictures of the Graces, repreſented them naked.

CHAP. XXXVI.

ON the death of Eteocles, the kingdom came to the poſterity of Halmus. The daughters of this Halmus were Chryſogenea and Chryſe. It is reported, that Phlegyas was the ſon of Mars by Chryſe. And Phlegyas reigned after Eteocles, becauſe Eteocles did not leave any male offspring behind him. But at that time the name of the whole country was changed; ſo that the region which was before denominated Andreis, was then called Phlegyantis. The city too Andreis was inhabited from the firſt, to which Phlegyas added another called by his own name, and collected into it the beſt of all the Grecian warriors. The Phlegyans, however, in after times, through their ſtupidity and boldneſs, ſeparated themſelves from the other Orchomenians, and led away at the ſame time the neighbouring people. At length too they turned their arms againſt the temple of the Delphic Apollo, in order to plunder

it: and when Philammon with a choſen band of Argives came to aſſiſt the Delphi, both he and his forces fell in the engagement which enſued. That the Phlegyans, indeed, delighted in warlike affairs beyond the reſt of the Greeks, is evident from theſe lines of Homer in the Iliad, reſpecting Mars and the ſon of Mars, Terror:

"From Thrace they fly, call'd to the dire alarms
Of warring Phlegyans, and Ephyrian arms."

But, in theſe verſes, he appears to me to call thoſe that inhabit the Theſprotian Epirus, Ephyri. However, divinity nearly deſtroyed the race of the Phlegyans by continued thunder and violent earthquakes, and thoſe that were left were deſtroyed by peſtilence, except a few that fled to Phocis.

But Phlegyas dying without children, Chryſes the ſon of Neptune, by Chryſogenea the daughter of Halmus, reigned after him. The ſon of this Chryſes was Minyas; and from him, the people that he governed are even at preſent called Minyæ. So great was the tribute which was paid to this Minyas, that he ſurpaſſed in wealth all thoſe that reigned before him, and was the firſt we are acquainted with among the Minyæ that built a treaſury for the purpoſe of ſecuring his riches. And there are certain Greeks, who have great knowledge in affairs of this kind, by whom theſe treaſuries are conſidered as more wonderful than thoſe which their own country contains. However, the moſt illuſtrious hiſtorians, who have given the moſt accurate account of the Egyptian pyramids, have not made the leaſt mention of the treaſury of Minyas, and the walls of Tiryns, though they are equally worthy of admiration. The ſon of this Minyas was Orchomenus: and during his reign the city was called Orchomenes, and

the people were denominated Orchomenians. Yet the appellation of Minyæ ſtill remains, for the purpoſe of diſtinguiſhing theſe people from the Orchomenians in Arcadia. Orchomenus therefore reigning, Hyettus came to him from Argos; for this Hyettus was obliged to abandon his country, on account of having murdered Molurus the ſon of Ariſbas, whom he had detected committing adultery with his wife. Orchomenus gave this Hyettus, that part of the country which is about the village Hyettus, and the land adjoining to it. The author of the verſes which the Greeks call the Great Eoeæ, makes mention of Hyettus:

> "Hyettus, when Ariſbas' ſon he found,
> Molurus, in the chamber of his wife,
> Th' adult'rer ſlew, and from his country fled,
> Argos, the fertile nurſe of gen'rous ſteeds.
> To Minyas' ſon Orchomenus he came:
> The exile then th' heroic prince receiv'd,
> And nobly gave him of his realms a ſhare."

But it is evident, that this Hyettus was the firſt that puniſhed adultery. For in after times Draco, among the laws which he made for the Athenians, relative to the puniſhment of unjuſt actions, enacted, that adultery ſhould be ſeverely puniſhed. The name too of the Minyæ arrived at ſuch a degree of dignity, that Neleus, the ſon of Cretheus and king of Pylus, married from Orchomenus, Aoris the daughter of Amphion the ſon of Hilaſius.

CHAP. XXXVII.

THE race however of Halmus was deſtined to come to an end. For Orchomenus did not leave behind him any children; and in conſequence of this, the royal authority paſſed to Clymenus the ſon of Preſbon, and the grandſon of Phrixus. Erginus was the eldeſt ſon of this Clymenus; the next to him in age were Stratius, Arrhon, and Pyleus; but the youngeſt of all was Axeus. Certain Thebans, for a very trifling offence, ſlew Clymenus during the celebration of the feſtival of Oncheſtian Neptune, this ſlight offence having rouſed them to vehement wrath. Erginus, as being the eldeſt ſon of Clymenus, reigned after his father; and immediately as he came to the throne, having with the aſſiſtance of his brothers collected an army, led his forces againſt Thebes, vanquiſhed the Thebans, and afterwards made a treaty of peace with them, on condition that they paid him an annual ſum of money as a recompenſe for the murder of Clymenus. But when Hercules undertook to defend the Thebans, then the Thebans were freed from this tribute, and the Minyæ ſuffered greatly in war. Hence Erginus, who ſaw that his ſubjects were wearied in the extreme with the continuance of the war, made a peace with Hercules; and deſirous that his kingdom might recover its priſtine opulence and felicity, ſo much neglected every thing elſe to accompliſh this, that he arrived at extreme old age without ever having been married, or had any children. As ſoon however as he became rich, he wiſhed to have children: and coming to Delphos in order to interrogate the god on this ſubject,

he

he received the following oracle: "O Erginus, ſon of Clymenus, and grandſon of Preſbon, thou comeſt hither late, inquiring after an offſpring, but even now add a new top to the old tail of the plough."

In conformity therefore to the admonition of the oracle, Erginus married a young woman, by whom he had Trophonius and Agamedes; though it is ſaid that Trophonius was the ſon of Apollo, and not of Erginus; which, indeed, I can eaſily be perſuaded to believe, and this muſt be the opinion of any one who goes to the oracle of Trophonius. They ſay, that theſe ſons of Erginus, as ſoon as they arrived at manhood, became very ſkilful in building temples for the gods, and palaces for kings. For they built the temple of Apollo in Delphos, and the treaſury of Hyrieus. In the wall of this treaſury they placed one ſtone in ſuch a manner, that they could take it out whenever they pleaſed; and in conſequence of this, they were perpetually carrying away ſome part of the depoſited treaſure. This filled Hyrieus with aſtoniſhment, as he found that the locks and ſeals had not been moved, and yet the amount of his wealth was perpetually diminiſhed. On the veſſels, therefore, in which his money was depoſited, he fixed traps, or ſomething of this kind, by which any one that attempted to touch the money might be immediately caught. Hence Agamedes, when he entered the treaſury, was held faſt in the ſnare: and Trophonius fearing leſt, when it was day, his brother would be forced by torments to confeſs that he was his aſſociate in the theft, cut off the head of Agamedes. After this Trophonius was ſwallowed up in an opening of the earth, in the grove of Lebadea, where there is a ditch, which is called after Agamedes, with a pillar raiſed over it. Aſcalaphus and

Ialmenus, who are ſaid to have been the ſons of Mars by Aſtyoche, the daughter of Actor, the grand-daughter of Axeus, and the great grand-daughter of Clymenus, reigned over the Orchomenians. The Orchomenians were led by theſe two againſt Troy; partook of the expedition of the ſons of Codrus to Ionia; and being driven from their country by the Thebans, recovered it again by the aſſiſtance of Philip the ſon of Amyntas. A divine power, however, always cauſed their affairs to verge to an imbecil condition.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

AMONG the Orchomenians there is a temple of Bacchus, and a moſt ancient temple of the Graces. They venerate in a moſt eminent degree certain ſtones, which they ſay fell from heaven, and were taken up by Eteocles. But the adorned ſtatues, or thoſe which are artificially made, and which are of ſtone, were dedicated in my time. The Orchomenians too have a fountain, which deſerves to be inſpected; and into which they deſcend for the purpoſe of drawing water. But the treaſury of Minyas is not inferior to any of the wonderful productions of Grecian art. It is built of ſtone, is of a round figure, and its top does not raiſe itſelf to a very ſharp point. They ſay that the topmoſt ſtone holds together the whole building. There are likewiſe ſepulchres here of Minyas and Heſiod; and they ſay that they came to poſſeſs the bones of Heſiod, by the following means: A peſtilence once raging in their country to the deſtruction of men and cattle, they ſent

certain perſons, who are called *Speculators*, to the Delphic god, who gave them an oracle, ſignifying that they muſt bring the bones of Heſiod from the Naupactian to the Orchomenian land, and that this would be the only means of freeing them from their malady. But upon their again interrogating the god, in what part of the Naupactian land the bones were depoſited, the Pythian deity anſwered them, that a crow would ſhew them. As the meſſengers therefore were proceeding on their journey, they ſaw not far from the road a crow ſitting on a ſtone; and in the hollow of this ſtone they found the bones of Heſiod, with the following inſcription on the tomb:

> "The fertile Aſcra is the native land
> Of Heſiod, but the Minyæ, ſkill'd to tame
> The warlike ſteed, his bones poſſeſs. His fame
> True wiſdom's votaries, of diſcernment nice,
> Through all th' Argolic land have widely ſpread."

With reſpect to Actæon, a report is circulated among the Orchomenians, that their land was injured by means of a ſpectre, which ſat on a ſtone; and that on their conſulting the Delphic oracle about it, they were ordered by the god to bury any remains of Actæon which they might happen to find; and beſides this, to make a brazen image of the ſpectre, and faſten it with iron to the ſtone. And this ſtatue I have ſeen. They perform too every year funeral ſacrifices to Actæon. The temple of Hercules, in which there is a ſtatue not large, is diſtant from Orchomenus about ſeven ſtadia. The fountains of the river Melan are in this place; and this river runs into the lake Cephiſſis. This lake occupies a great part of the Orchomenian land; and during the winter, through the vehement blowing of the ſouth-wind, the water ſpreads over a con-

a conſiderable part of the country. The Thebans ſay, that the river Cephiſſus was turned by Hercules into the Orchomenian plains; and that prior to this it ran into the ſea, under a mountain; but that Hercules cloſed up the chaſm. Homer indeed knew of the lake Cephiſſis, but he does not ſay that it was the work of Hercules. For thus he ſpeaks concerning it:

"Inclining o'er the lake Cephiſſis"——.

Nor is it probable, that the chaſm was not diſcovered by the Orchomenians, and that Hercules, by ſeparating it, reſtored to the river its ancient paſſage, ſince even in the Trojan times they were in no want of money. This is evident from what Homer repreſents Achilles ſaying in anſwer to the ambaſſadors of Agamemnon:

"Not all the wealth Orchomenus receives."

It is clear from hence, that the Orchomenians were ſupplied with great riches at that time. But, as they ſay, Aſpledon was then deprived of inhabitants through ſcarcity of water. They add, that the city was denominated from Aſpledon, who was the ſon of Neptune by the nymph Midea. This account is confirmed by the verſes which they ſay were made by Cherſias the Orchomenian:

"Aſpledon, in an ample city born,
From Neptune and th' illuſtrious Mida ſprung."

The verſes however of this Cherſias are not now extant: and the above lines are cited by Calippus in his oration on the Orchomenians. They likewiſe aſſert, that the epigram on the ſepulchre of Heſiod was compoſed by Cherſias.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXIX.

THE Phocenſes border on the Orchomenians in that part which is near the mountains: but Lebadea borders on them in that part in which the plains are ſituated. This city was formerly built in the more elevated part of the country, and was called Midea from the mother of Aſpledon. But when Lebadus came from Athens, and ſettled here, the inhabitants deſcended into the plains, and from him the city was called Lebadea. They neither however know who his father was, nor on what account he came hither. They only know that his wife was Nice. This city is adorned in every reſpect ſimilar to the moſt flouriſhing cities of Greece. The grove of Trophonius is ſeparated from it: and they ſay that Hercyna, playing in this place with the daughters of Ceres, unwillingly let a gooſe fall out of her hands, which afterwards fled into a cavern, and concealed itſelf under a ſtone: that Proſerpine came into the cavern, and took the bird from under the ſtone: and that in the place where ſhe had moved the ſtone water burſt forth, which became a river, denominated from this circumſtance Hercyna. Near the banks of this river there is a temple of Hercyna; and in it there is a ſtatue of a virgin holding a gooſe in her hands. The fountains of the river are in the cavern, together with ſtatues in an upright poſition: and dragons are rolled round the ſceptres of theſe ſtatues. Any one would be inclined to conjecture, that theſe are the ſtatues of Æſculapius and Hygia; but they may be the ſtatues of Trophonius

phonius and Hercyna, as they are of opinion, that dragons are no leſs ſacred to Trophonius than to Æſculapius. Near the river too there is a ſepulchre of Arceſilaus. They ſay that Leitus brought the bones of Arceſilaus from Troy. But the moſt remarkable particulars in the grove are a temple of Trophonius, and a ſtatue, which may be conjectured to be that of Æſculapius. This ſtatue was made by Praxiteles. There is alſo a temple here of Ceres Europa: and in the open air there is a temple of Jupiter Pluvius.

As you aſcend to the place from which the oracle is given, and paſs on to the anterior part of the mountain, you will ſee a temple of Proſerpine *the huntreſs* and Jupiter *the king*. This temple, either through its magnitude, or through unceaſing wars, was left half finiſhed. In another temple which ſtands here there are ſtatues of Saturn, Juno, and Jupiter. There is alſo in this place a temple of Apollo. With reſpect to what pertains to this oracle, when any one deſires to deſcend into the cave of Trophonius, he muſt firſt take up his reſidence for a certain number of days in a building deſtined to this purpoſe. This building is a temple of *the Good Dæmon*, and of *Good Fortune*. While he ſtays here he purifies himſelf in other reſpects, and abſtains from hot baths. The river Hercyna is uſed by him for a bath: and he is well ſupplied with animal food from the victims which are ſacrificed. For he who deſcends hither, ſacrifices to Trophonius and his ſons; to Apollo, Saturn, and Jupiter the king; to Juno *the chariot driver*, and to Ceres, whom they call Europa, and who they ſay was the nurſe of Trophonius. A diviner is preſent to each of the ſacrifices, who inſpects the entrails of the victims,

victims, and while he beholds them, propheſies whether or not Trophonius will propitiouſly receive the perſon who conſults him. The other victims do not in a ſimilar manner diſcloſe the mind of Trophonius: but each perſon who deſcends to him, ſacrifices, on the night in which he deſcends, a ram in a ditch, invoking at the ſame time Agamedes. They pay no regard to the former entrails, even though they ſhould be favourable, unleſs the entrails of this ram are likewiſe auſpicious. And when it happens that the entrails thus correſpond in ſignification, then the perſon that wiſhes to conſult Trophonius deſcends with good hope, and in the following manner: The ſacrificers bring him by night to the river Hercyna; there they anoint him with oil; and two boys belonging to the city, each about thirteen years old, and whom they call Mercuries, waſh him, and ſupply him with every thing neceſſary.

He is not immediately after this led by the ſacrificers to the oracle, but is firſt brought to the fountains of the river, which are very near to each other. Here he is obliged to drink of that which is called the water of Lethe, that he may become oblivious of all the former objects of his purſuit. Afterwards he muſt drink of another water, which is called the water of *Mnemoſyne*, or *memory*, that he may remember the objects which will preſent themſelves to his view on deſcending into the grove. Having therefore beheld the ſtatue, which they ſay was made by Dædalus (and which the prieſts never ſhew to any but thoſe who deſire to conſult Trophonius), performed certain religious ceremonies, and prayed, he proceeds to the oracle clothed in white linen, begirt with fillets, and having on his feet ſuch ſlippers as are worn by the natives

tives of this place. The oracle is above the grove in a mountain, and is incloſed with a wall of white ſtone, whoſe circumference is very ſmall, and whoſe altitude is not more than two cubits. Two obeliſks are raiſed on this wall, which, as well as the zones that hold them together, are of braſs. Between theſe there are doors: and within the incloſure there is a chaſm of the earth, which was not formed by nature, but was made by art, and is excavated in according proportion with conſummate accuracy and ſkill. The ſhape of this chaſm reſembles that of an oven. Its breadth, meaſured diametrically, may be conjectured to be about four cubits. Its depth does not appear to me more than eight cubits. There are not ſteps to its bottom: but when any one deſigns to deſcend to Trophonius, they give him a ladder, which is both narrow and light. On deſcending into this chaſm, between its bottom and ſummit there is a ſmall cavern, the breadth of which is about two ſpans, and its altitude appears to be about one ſpan.

He, therefore, who deſcends to the bottom of this chaſm lays himſelf down on the ground, and holding in his hand ſops mingled with honey, firſt of all places his feet in the ſmall cavern, then haſtens to join his knees to his feet; and immediately after the reſt of his body contracted to his knees, is drawn within the cavern; juſt as if he was hurried away by the vortex of the largeſt and moſt rapid river. But thoſe that have deſcended to the adytum of this place are not all inſtructed in the ſecrets of futurity in the ſame manner. For one obtains this knowledge by his ſight, and another by his hearing: but all return through the ſame opening, and walk backwards as they return. They ſay no one that deſcended

here

here ever died in the chaſm, except one of the ſpear-bearers of Demetrius, who would not perform any of the eſtabliſhed religious ceremonies, and who did not come hither for the purpoſe of conſulting divinity, but that he might enrich himſelf by carrying the gold and ſilver from the adytum. It is alſo ſaid, that his dead body was thrown up by a different avenue, and not through the ſacred opening. Other reports are circulated about this man, but thoſe which I have mentioned appear to me to be the moſt remarkable. When the perſon that deſcended to Trophonius returns, the ſacrificers immediately place him on a throne, which they call the throne of Mnemoſyne, and which ſtands not far from the adytum. Then they aſk him what he has either ſeen or heard, and afterwards deliver him to certain perſons appointed for this purpoſe, who bring him to the temple of Good Fortune, and the Good Dæmon, while he is yet full of terror, and without any knowledge either of himſelf, or of thoſe that are near him. Afterwards, however, he recovers the uſe of his reaſon, and laughs juſt the ſame as before. *I write this, not from hearſay, but from what I have ſeen happen to others, and from what I experienced myſelf, when I conſulted the oracle of Trophonius.* All too that return from Trophonius are obliged to write in a table whatever they have either heard or ſeen: and even at preſent the ſhield of Ariſtomenes remains in this place, the particulars reſpecting which I have already related.

CHAP.

CHAP. XL.

THE Bœotians became acquainted with this oracle, of which they were before entirely ignorant, by the following means: In conſequence of a great want of rain for the ſpace of two years, they ſent *Speculators* from each city to Delphos. Theſe, imploring a remedy againſt the drought which they laboured under, the Pythian deity ordered to go to Trophonius in Lebadea, and find relief from him. But when they came to Lebadea, and could not find the oracle, one Saon an Acraiphniah, who was the oldeſt of the Speculators, happened to ſee a ſwarm of bees, and followed them to their hive. Perceiving, therefore, that they flew into this chaſm of the earth, he followed them, and by this means found the oracle which he ſought. They ſay, that this Saon was inſtructed by Trophonius in all the ſacred ceremonies belonging to this oracle.

Of the works of Dædalus there are two among the Bœotians; a ſtatue of Hercules belonging to the Thebans, and of Trophonius belonging to the Lebadenſes. There are the ſame number of wooden ſtatues in Crete, viz. Britomartis in Olus, and Minerva among the Gnoſſians. Beſides theſe, too, they have a repreſentation of the dance of Ariadne, which is mentioned by Homer in the Iliad; and this is made of white ſtone. Among the Delians likewiſe there is a wooden ſtatue of Venus not large, the right hand of which is decayed through length of time: and this ſtatue ſtands on a ſquare figure inſtead of feet.

I am

I am perſuaded that Ariadne received this ſtatue from Dædalus, and that when ſhe followed Theſeus, ſhe took it along with her. The Delians ſay, that Theſeus, when Ariadne was taken from him, dedicated this wooden ſtatue of Venus to the Delian Apollo, that he might not by taking it home with him, be reminded of his loſt wife, and by this recollection continually experience new torments of love. I do not know that any other works of Dædalus beſides theſe remain. For thoſe works of his which the Argives dedicated in the temple of Juno, and thoſe which were brought to Gela in Sicily from Omphace, have all been deſtroyed by time. The Chæronenſes are next to the Lebadenſes. The city of theſe people was formerly called Arne: and they ſay that Arne was the daughter of Æolus, and that from her another city in Theſſaly is denominated. They add, that the preſent name of the Chæronenſes was derived from Chæron the ſon of Apollo by Thero the daughter of Phylas: and this is confirmed by the author of the poem called the Great Eoeæ, in the following verſes:

"In wedlock with Deiphile conjoin'd,
Daughter of Iolaus the renown'd,
And in whoſe perſon godlike beauties ſhone,
Phylas, in his auguſt abodes begat
A ſon nam'd Ippotus, with Thero fair,
In form reſembling Phæbe's ſplendid light:
And Thero from Apollo, Chæron bore,
Of mighty ſtrength, and ſkill'd the ſteed to tame."

It appears to me, too, that Homer knew that Chæronea was called Lebadea, but that he choſe to denominate it by its ancient name; in the ſame manner as he calls the African river Ægyptus, and not Nile.

But among the Chæronenſes there are two trophies, which were raiſed by the Romans and Sylla, when they vanquiſhed Taxilus and the army of Mithridates. Philip, however, the ſon of Amyntas, neither raiſed any trophy at Chæronea, nor for any victories which he gained over either Greeks or Barbarians. For it was not an eſtabliſhed cuſtom with the Macedonians, to leave trophies as monuments of their victories. It is ſaid too by the Macedonians, that Caranus, when he reigned in Macedonia, having vanquiſhed in battle Ciſſeus, who governed the country bordering on the Macedonians, raiſed a trophy after the manner of the Argives. But they add, that a lion ruſhing from Olympus, threw down and deſtroyed the trophy. That Caranus was conſcious he had not acted prudently, becauſe by raiſing this trophy he had occaſioned an irreconcileable enmity with his neighbours; and that afterwards neither Caranus nor any of his ſucceſſors raiſed a trophy, that they might at ſome future time attract to themſelves the benevolence of the neighbouring people. Alexander confirms the truth of this account, becauſe he neither raiſed a trophy for his victories over Darius, nor for his conqueſt of the Indies. Near this city there is a common ſepulchre of thoſe Thebans that fell in the engagement againſt Philip. There is no inſcription on the tomb, but a lion ſtands on it, which may be ſuppoſed to ſignify the great vehemence of theſe men in fight. But it appears to me that there is no inſcription on the ſepulchre, becauſe the Dæmon did not permit the conſequences of their courage to be ſuch as might be expected. The Chæroneans venerate, above all the gods, the ſceptre which Homer ſays Vulcan made for Jupiter. This ſceptre

Hermes

Hermes received from Jupiter, and gave to Pelops; Pelops left it to Atreus; Atreus to Thyeſtes; and from Thyeſtes it came to Agamemnon. This ſceptre too they denominate *the ſpear;* and indeed that it contains ſomething of a nature more divine than uſual, is evident from hence, that a certain ſplendor is ſeen proceeding from it. The Chæroneans ſay, that this ſceptre was found in the borders of the Panopeans in Phocis, and together with it a quantity of gold; and that they cheerfully took the ſceptre inſtead of the gold. I am perſuaded that it was brought by Electra the daughter of Agamemnon to Phocis. There is not however any temple publicly raiſed for this ſceptre, but every year the perſon to whoſe care this ſacred ſceptre is committed, places it in a building deſtined to this purpoſe; and the people ſacrifice to it every day, and place near it a table full of all kinds of fleſh and ſweetmeats.

CHAP. XLI.

OF all the works indeed of Vulcan, which are celebrated by poets, and praiſed by the reſt of mankind, this ſceptre of Agamemnon is the only thing which deſerves our belief. For the Lycians, who ſhew in Pataræ in the temple of Apollo a brazen bowl, which they ſay was dedicated by Telephus, and made by Vulcan, are ignorant that the Samians, Theodorus, and Rhoecus were the firſt braſs-founders. The Achaian Patrenſes, too, pretend that the cheſt which Eurypylus brought from Troy was made by Vulcan, but in reality they have no ſuch cheſt to ſhew. In Cyprus there is a city called Amathus; and

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in it there is an ancient temple of Adonis and Venus. They ſay, that in this temple there is a necklace which was given by Harmonia at firſt; but that it came to be called the necklace of Eriphyle, becauſe ſhe received it as a gift from her huſband. Afterwards the ſons of Phegeus dedicated it at Delphi. But how it came to theſe, we have ſhewn in our account of the Arcadian affairs. And laſt of all it was taken away by the Phocæan tyrants. However, it does not appear to me, that the necklace, which the Amathuſians poſſeſs in the temple of Adonis, belonged to Eriphyle, as this necklace in Amathus is compoſed of green ſtones ſet in gold; and Homer, in the Odyſſey, ſays that the necklace which was given to Eriphyle was made of gold:

> "There Eriphyle weeps, who loſely ſold
> Her lord, her honour, for the luſt of gold."

And yet Homer was not ignorant that there are various kinds of necklaces. For in the ſpeeches of Eumæus to Ulyſſes, before the arrival of Telemachus from Pylus, there are the following lines:

> "An artiſt to my father's palace came,"
> With gold and amber chains, elab'rate frame."

And among the gifts which Penelope received from the ſuitors, he ſays that Eurymachus gave her a necklace:

> A necklace rich with gold, with amber gay,
> That ſhot effulgence like the ſolar ray,
> Eurymachus preſents.————

But he does not ſay that Eriphyle received a necklace varied with gold and ſtones. So that it is probable that this ſceptre is the only thing among all theſe that was made by

by Vulcan. Above the city Chæronea there is a precipice, which is called Petrachos. They are of opinion that Saturn was in this place deceived by Rhea, when he ſwallowed a ſtone, inſtead of Jupiter. On the ſummit of the mountain there is a ſmall ſtatue of Jupiter. In this part of Chæronea the inhabitants make an ointment, by boiling together roſes, lilies, narciſſuſes, and the herb *iris*, or *ſword-graſs*: and this is a remedy againſt pain. If, indeed, you anoint wooden ſtatues with the ointment of roſes, you will preſerve them from rottenneſs. The iris grows in marſhy places, and is equal in ſize to the lily; but its colour is not white, and it does not emit ſo ſtrong an odour as the lily.

BOOK X.

PHOCICS.

CHAP. I.

IT is evident that that part of Phocis which is about Tithorea and Delphos, received its appellation, from the moſt ancient times, from the Corinthian Phocus, who was the ſon of Ornytion. Not many years however after, when the Æginetæ with Phocus the ſon of Æacus landed in theſe parts, the whole country which remains at preſent came to be called Phocis. But the Phocenſes that are oppoſite to Peloponneſus, and thoſe that dwell near Bœotia, and border on the ſea, are ſituated between Cirrha, a haven of the Delphi, and the city Anticyra. For the Locri Hypocnemidii, who dwell beyond this part of Phocis, prevent the Phocenſes from ſettling near the ſea, which contains the Lamiacan bay. The Scarphenſes are beyond Elatea; and beyond Hyampolis are the Abantes, who inhabit Opus, and Cynus the haven of the Opuntians. The moſt illuſtrious public tranſactions of the Phocenſes are theſe: They engaged in the war againſt Troy; and led an army againſt the Theſſalians, prior to the irruption of the

Perſians into Greece; at which time they accompliſhed the following memorable exploit. In that part of Hyampolis, in which they were informed by their ſpies the Thaſſalian horſe intended to attack them, they dug up certain earthen urns, and, covering them with earth, waited the approach of the enemy. The Theſſalians, therefore, being ignorant of the ſtratagem of the Phocenſes, drove their horſes on the urns, whoſe feet being by this means either entangled or broken, their riders were thrown off and cut to pieces by the Phocenſes. But the Theſſalians, in conſequence of this, being more enraged with the Phocenſes than before, collected an army from all their cities, and again attacked the Phocenſes, who were very much terrified, both with the other warlike preparations of the Theſſalians, and particularly with the multitude of their horſe, becauſe the Theſſalians not only ſurpaſſed them in the number of their cavalry, but in the art of managing their horſes in war.

The Phocenſes therefore ſent to Delphos, and enquired of the god how they might avoid the impending danger. And the meſſengers brought back the following oracle: "I ſhall cauſe a mortal and a god to contend with each other: and I will give the victory to both, and another victory to the mortal." As ſoon as the Phocenſes received this oracle, they ſent three hundred choſen men led by Gelo againſt the enemy, and ordered them, as ſoon as it was night, to watch in the moſt ſecret manner poſſible the motions of the Theſſalians, to return afterwards to their camps, and not to engage unleſs they were forced to it. The whole of this choſen troop, together with its leader, periſhed, being trampled under foot by the Theſſalian horſes, and ſlain by the enemy. This ſlaughter occaſioned

ſuch a terror in the camp of the Phocenſes, that they haſtily collected together their wives, children, and all the property they were able either to drive or take away, together with their apparel, gold, ſilver, and ſtatues of the gods. After this they raiſed a very large funeral pile, and left with it thirty men, whom they ordered to cut the throats of the women and children, burn all the property that was collected on the funeral pile, and afterwards either murder each other, or ruſh on the Theſſalian horſe, if the Phocenſes ſhould happen to be vanquiſhed in the engagement. In conſequence of this command, all inhuman counſels came to be called by the Greeks, *Phocic deſperation*.

Immediately after this the Phocenſes marched againſt the Theſſalians, chooſing for the commander of their horſe Rhoecus Ambryſſenſis, and of their foot Daïphanes the Hyampolitan. But he who held the moſt honourable place among the commanders was the Elean prophet Tellias, in whom the Phocenſes placed the hopes of their ſafety. As ſoon therefore as the engagement began, the Phocenſes recollecting what they had determined reſpecting their wives and children, perceived that their ſafety was very uncertain, and for their ſakes engaged in every kind of daring undertaking. The ſignification too of the entrails gave them the higheſt reaſon to hope that the gods would be propitious to them. And indeed they obtained a victory of the moſt ſplendid kind; in conſequence of which the oracle of Apollo, which was given to the Phocenſes, was underſtood by all the Greeks. For the private word was given at the ſame time to each army: to the Theſſalians, *Minerva Itonia*; but to the Phocenſes, *Phocus*, from whom they derived their name. In conſequence of having

having gained this victory, the Phocenſes ſent gifts to the Delphic Apollo, viz. a ſtatue of the god, and of Tellias who was at that time the prophet, together with ſtatues of the commanders and heroes of their own country. And all theſe were made by the Argive Ariſtomedon. The Phocenſes too after this were not wanting in ſubtility of invention. For the camps of the enemy once happening to be fixed near the entrance to Phocis, five hundred choſen men of the Phocenſes, as ſoon as the moon had completed her orb, attacked the Theſſalians in the night, having rubbed their bodies over with plaſter, and likewiſe their armour, which by this means became white. They ſay, that at this time a great ſlaughter was made of the Theſſalians, who thought that what they ſaw in the night was ſomething divine, and not the reſult of the enemy's craft. But it was the Elean Tellias who invented this ſtratagem againſt the Theſſalians. When the army too of the Perſians paſſed over into Europe, it is ſaid that the Phocenſes were forced to join themſelves to Xerxes; but that afterwards they deſerted the party of the Medes, and fought on the ſide of the Greeks in the battle at Platæa.

CHAP. II.

IN after times, however, they were fined by the Amphictyons. But I have not been able to find the true reaſon of this event taking place; whether it aroſe from the Phocenſes having acted unjuſtly, or whether the Theſſalians, on account of their ancient hatred to the Phocenſes, were the occaſion of their being fined. But when they were

were in a very desponding condition through the magnitude of the fine, Philomelus the son of Theotimus, who was not inferior in nobility to any of the Phocenses, and whose country was Ledon a Phocic city, shewed them that it was impossible for them to pay the fine, and persuaded them to plunder the temple of the Delphic Apollo. Among other arguments, which he offered in order to effect this, he informed them, that the affairs of the Athenians and Lacedæmonians were in a condition very well adapted to the execution of this design; and that if the Thebans or any other nation should make war upon them, they might easily vanquish their enemies, both by their own valour, and the money which they would be enabled to expend. This speech of Philomelus was favourably received by the multitude of the Phocenses, whether some god perverted their understanding, or whether these people naturally preferred gain to piety. The Phocenses therefore plundered the temple of Apollo, when Heraclides governed the Delphi, and Agathocles was the Athenian archon; and in the fourth year of the one hundred and fifth Olympiad, in which the Cyrenæan Prorus was victorious. After this they collected together a very powerful army of mercenary soldiers; and the Thebans openly declared war against them, in consequence of being at variance with them prior to this event.

This war lasted for ten years; and during the continuance of it, the Phocenses with their mercenary troops were sometimes victorious, and this was often the case with the Thebans. But an engagement taking place near the city Neon, the Phocenses were put to flight, and in this flight Philomelus hurled himself from a precipice, and

and by this means deſtroyed himſelf; and all that followed him were puniſhed by the Amphictyons with the ſame kind of death. After the death of Philomelus the Phocenſes gave the government to Onomarchus: but Philip the ſon of Amyntas joined himſelf to the Thebans, and in the engagement which enſued vanquiſhed the enemy. Onomarchus therefore flying to the ſea, was pierced to death by the arrows of his own ſoldiers, who accuſed his timidity and ignorance in war, as the cauſes of their having been vanquiſhed. And ſuch was the end which the Dæmon gave to the life of Onomarchus. The Phocenſes, after this, inveſted his brother Phayllus with the ſupreme authority. But he had ſcarcely begun his reign, when he ſaw the following viſion in a dream: Among the gifts ſacred to Apollo there was an ancient brazen image of a man, whoſe fleſh had been conſumed by diſeaſe, and whoſe bones alone remained. The Delphi ſay that this was dedicated by Hippocrates the phyſician. Phayllus in a dream ſaw himſelf reſembling this image; and immediately after was ſeized with a tabid diſeaſe, which fulfilled the prediction of his dream. In conſequence of this event taking place, the ſupreme authority was given to Phalæcus the ſon of Phayllus; but he loſt his kingdom through appropriating the ſacred wealth to his own private purpoſes. After this he ſailed to Crete with ſuch of the Phocenſes as embraced his party, and beſieged with a band of mercenary troops the city Cydonia, becauſe the inhabitants would not pay him the money which he demanded. He loſt however in this ſiege a great part of his army, and was himſelf ſlain.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

IN the tenth year after the temple was plundered, Philip brought this war which is called Phocic and ſacred to an end. At that time Theophilus was the Athenian archon, and it was the firſt year of the one hundred and eighth Olympiad, in which the Cyrenæan Polycles was victor in the ſtadium. The following Phocæan cities were then taken, and levelled with the ground, viz. Lilæa, Hyampolis, Anticyra, Parapotamii, Panopeus, and Daulis. The names of theſe cities were renowned in former times, and are celebrated in no ſmall degree in the poems of Homer. But the Phocæan cities Erochus, Charadra, Amphiclea, Neon, Tethronium, and Drymæa, which were burnt by the army of Xerxes, became through this circumſtance more known to the Greeks. All the other cities except Elatea were obſcure prior to this war, viz. the Phocic Thracis, Medeon, Phocicus, Echedamia, Ambryſus, Ledon, Phlygonium, and Sterrhis. All theſe cities which we have enumerated were then deſtroyed, and, except Abas, were reduced to the form of villages. For the Abæans were free from the impiety of the other cities, and had neither plundered the temple of Apollo, nor engaged in the war. The Phocenſes too are forbidden the uſe of the Delphic temple, are not admitted as members of the general aſſembly of the Greeks, and the Amphictyons have taken from them the privilege of voting, and transferred it to the Macedonians. Some time after this the Phocæan cities were rebuilt, and the Phocenſes re-

turned from their villages to their priſtine habitations. We muſt however except thoſe cities which, by reaſon of their imbecility from the firſt, and their indigence at that time, could not be rebuilt. The Athenians and Thebans, prior to the loſs of the Greeks at Chæronea, were the leaders of this reſtoration. The Phocenſes likewiſe partook of the engagement at Chæronea, and afterwards, at Lamia and Cranon, fought againſt Antipater and the Macedonians. They oppoſed too the Gauls and the Celtic army, with greater alacrity than the reſt of the Greeks, that they might revenge the injury which had been offered to the Delphic Apollo, and, as it appears to me, that they might apologize for their priſtine guilt. And ſuch are the memorable tranſactions of the Phocenſes.

CHAP. IV.

FROM Chæronea there is a road of twenty ſtadia in length, which leads to Panopeus, a city of the Phocenſes, if it be proper to call that a city in which there is neither a governor, nor a gymnaſium, nor a theatre, nor a forum, nor, laſtly, any fountain of water. The inhabitants dwell in wooden houſes, reſembling the cottages in mountains, and theſe are ſituated near a chaſm made by a torrent. They have boundaries too which ſeparate them from their neighbours; and they ſend members to the Phocic convention. They ſay that their city was denominated from the father of Epeus, and that they were at firſt the Phlegyæ, and fled to Phocis from the Orchomenians. I have ſeen the ancient incloſure of Panopea, which, I conjecture,

is

is about ſeven ſtadia in circumference. While I was ſurveying it, thoſe verſes of Homer reſpecting Tityus came into my mind, in which he calls the city of the Panopeans *Callichoros*, or *delighting in the dance*. I likewiſe recollected, that in the conteſt for the dead body of Patroclus, he ſays, that Schedius the ſon of Iphitus, and king of the Phocenſes, who was ſlain by Hector, dwelt in Panopeus. It appears to me, that the cauſe of his dwelling here was his fear of the Bœotians (for Phocis in this part is very much expoſed to the attacks of the Bœotians), and that he uſed Panopeus as a place of defence. I was not however able to conjecture why Homer called Panopeus *Callichoros*, till I learnt the reaſon from thoſe Athenians who are called Thyades. Theſe Thyades are Attic women, who every year come to Parnaſſus, and, together with Delphic women, celebrate the orgies of Bacchus. It is an eſtabliſhed cuſtom with the Thyades, to form choirs in the road from Athens, in other places, and among the Panopeans. Homer, therefore, by the appellation Panopeus, appears to ſignify the choir of the Thyades.

In the public road of the Panopeans there is a building of crude tiles, and in it a ſtatue of Pentelican ſtone, which ſome ſay is the ſtatue of Æſculapius, and others of Prometheus. Theſe laſt think their opinion is confirmed from hence: Near the chaſm formed by the torrent, there are ſtones of ſuch a magnitude that each is ſufficient to load a cart. Theſe ſtones are of the colour of clay, yet not of ſuch clay as is dug out of the earth, but of ſuch as is found among the gravel of rivers and torrents. Theſe ſtones too ſmell very much like a human body; and they ſay that theſe are the remains of that clay, from which the whole race of mankind was faſhioned by Prometheus.

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In the ſame place, viz. near the chaſm of the torrent, there is a ſepulchre of Tityus: and the circumference of the heap of earth which forms his tomb is about one third of a ſtadium. But of Tityus it is ſaid in the Odyſſey:

> "There Tityus large and long, in fetters bound,
> O'erſpreads nine acres of infernal ground."

They ſay, that this verſe does not allude to the magnitude of Tityus, but to the place in which he lies buried, and which is nine acres in extent. But Cleon, one of thoſe Magneſians that dwell about Hermus, ſays that things of a very wonderful nature muſt be incredible to thoſe who, during the whole courſe of their life, never beheld any thing which ſurpaſſes the conceptions of the vulgar. He adds, that he is perſuaded both Tityus and others were really as large as they are reported to have been. For, ſays he, I once went to Gades, and ſailed with all the company of my attendants from that iſland, agreeably to the command of Hercules. But afterwards returning to Gades, I found a marine man thrown up on the ſhore, who had been burnt by lightning, and whoſe magnitude was not leſs than five acres.

But Daulis is about ſeven ſtadia diſtant from Panopeus. This city does not contain many inhabitants; but thoſe which it does contain, ſurpaſs all the Phocenſes in magnitude and ſtrength of body. They ſay, that the city was denominated from the nymph Daulis, who was the daughter of Cephiſſus. It is alſo ſaid by others, that the place where the city ſtands was formerly full of trees, and that the ancients called things *denſe* or *cloſe*, *daula*. Hence, ſay they, Æſchylus calls the beard of Glaucus Anthe-

Anthedonius, *daulos*, or *thick*. In this city the women are ſaid to have feaſted Tereus with the body of his ſon; and the polluted tables of mankind originated from hence. But the hoopoop, into which they ſay Tereus was changed, is a bird not larger than a quail, and has wings on its head which reſemble creſts. It is a wonderful circumſtance that, in this country, ſwallows neither breed, nor lay eggs, nor build their neſts on the roofs of houſes. The Phocenſes ſay, that when Philomela was changed into a bird, ſhe flew from the country of Tereus through fear of him. But the Daulienſes have a temple of Minerva, in which there is an ancient ſtatue of the goddeſs. It likewiſe contains a more ancient wooden ſtatue, which they ſay Procne brought from Athens. A place called Thronius forms a part of the Daulian land: and in this place there is an heroic monument, dedicated to that hero from whom the people here derived their origin. Some ſay, that this hero was Xanthippus, a man of no obſcure reputation in warlike affairs: but others are of opinion, that he was Phocus the ſon of Ornytion, and the grandſon of Siſyphus. This hero they venerate every day; and after they have ſlain the victims which they ſacrifice to him, they pour the blood through a hole into the ſepulchre, and conſume the entrails in the ſame place. There is an eminence in Daulis, by which you may aſcend to the ſummits of mount Parnaſſus. This road is longer, but not ſo difficult as that at Delphos, which leads to the ſame ſummits.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

ON again turning from Daulis, and proceeding in a ſtraight line to Delphos, you will ſee on the left hand a building which they call *Phocicon*, and into which the Phocenſes from each of their cities aſſemble. This building is very large; and in it there are pillars placed according to its length. From the pillars too there are ſteps to each of its walls: and on theſe ſteps the Phocenſes ſit when they aſſemble. But near the extremity of the building there are neither pillars nor ſteps. There is however here a ſtatue of Jupiter ſitting on a throne; and on his right hand there is a ſtatue of Juno, and on his left of Minerva. Proceeding from hence, you will arrive at a road which they call *Schiſte*, or *cut*; and in this road Oedipus murdered his father. Indeed, every part of Greece contains ſome monument of the calamities of Oedipus. For as ſoon as he was born, his parents bored the ſoles of his feet, and expoſed him on the mountain Cithæron belonging to the Platæenſes. Corinth, and the country about the Iſthmus, educated him. Phocis, and the road Schiſte, were polluted with his father's blood. And the Thebans are rendered infamous by the marriages of Oedipus, and the baſe conduct of Eteocles. However, the daring action of Oedipus in the road Schiſte was the origin of all his calamities. The ſepulchres of Laius and the ſervants that followed him, are in the middle of a place where three roads meet, and ſelect ſtones are piled in a heap over them. They ſay, that Damiſiſtratus, when he reigned over the Platæenſes, met

with theſe dead bodies, and buried them. There is a public road ſteep and difficult to a light-armed ſoldier, which leads from hence to Delphos. Many things indeed are reported of the Delphi, and particularly concerning the oracle of Apollo. For they ſay that this oracle is the moſt ancient of any on the earth, that Daphne was choſen by Earth, prieſteſs of the oracle, and that ſhe was one of the nymphs that inhabit mountains.

But the Greeks have a piece of poetical compoſition, which they call Eumolpia, and the author of which, they ſay, was Muſæus the ſon of Antiophemus. In this poem it is aſſerted that there is an oracle in common of Neptune and Earth; that Earth delivered her oracles from her own mouth; but that Neptune had Pyrcon for his interpreter. The verſes reſpecting this affair are theſe:

> "From her own mouth Earth utter'd prudent words,
> But Pyrcon was illuſtrious Neptune's prieſt."

They ſay, that afterwards Earth gave her part of the oracle to Themis; but Themis to Apollo; and that Apollo received the other part from Neptune, in return for which he gave Neptune the iſland Calaurea which is ſituated before Trœzen. I have alſo heard it aſſerted, that certain ſhepherds who once happened to come to the oracle, became divinely inſpired from the vapour of the earth, and propheſied through the influence of Apollo. But Phemonoe arrived at the higheſt degree of celebrity, as being the firſt propheteſs of the god, and the firſt that ſang an hexameter verſe. Boeo, a woman who was a native of Delphos, and who compoſed a hymn for the Delphi, ſays, that both others that came from the Hyperboreans, and Olen, built a place for the oracle of Apollo; and that Olen

Olen was the firſt who propheſied at Delphos, and delivered oracles in hexameter verſes. The following are the verſes of Boeo:

"Here Pagaſus, Agyieus the divine,
From th' Hyperboreans, Phœbus, rais'd to thee
A building, for thine oracle renown'd."

And after ſhe has enumerated other Hyperboreans, towards the end of the hymn, ſhe mentions Olen:

"Olen, the firſt who Phœbus' will diſclos'd,
The firſt who verſes of the ancients ſung."

If we follow tradition, however, women alone were the firſt interpreters of oracles.

They farther report, that the moſt ancient temple of Apollo was raiſed from the laurel-tree; and that the branches from which it was built were cut from that tree which is at Tempe. The form of this temple reſembled that of a cottage. But the Delphi ſay, that the other temple of Apollo was raiſed by bees from wax and wings, and was ſent by Apollo to the Hyperboreans. There is likewiſe another report concerning this affair, that a Delphos man, whoſe name was Pteras, built this temple, and that from this circumſtance the temple came to be called by the name of its artificer. From this ſame Pteras, too, a Cretan city, with the addition of one letter, was denominated Apteræi. I cannot, however, be induced to believe that this temple was framed from a herb *Pteris*, or *fern*, which grows on mountains, and this while the herb was yet green. But with reſpect to the third temple, the report that it was built of braſs, is by no means wonderful, ſince Acriſius made a brazen bed-chamber for his daughter; and even at preſent there is a temple of Mi-

nerva among the Lacedæmonians, which, from its being built of braſs, is called *Chalkioicos*. Among the Romans too there is a forum, which is admirable both for its magnitude and ornaments, and which has a brazen roof. So that it is not improbable, that there may have been a brazen temple of Apollo. As to the reſt, the relations are doubtleſs fabulous, either that this temple was built by Vulcan, or that golden virgins ſang in it, which is aſſerted by Pindar as follows:

"Suſpended from the roof, there golden virgins ſang."

It appears to me, that Pindar invented this fable, in imitation of what Homer ſays reſpecting the Sirens. But neither do I find that the ſame accounts are given of the deſtruction of this temple. Some ſay it fell into an opening of the earth; but, according to others, it was deſtroyed by fire. The fourth temple of Apollo is ſaid to have been built of ſtone, by Trophonius and Agamedes: and this was burnt when Erxiclides was the Athenian archon, and in the firſt year of the fifty-eighth Olympiad, in which Diognetus Crotoniates was victor. But the temple which exiſts at preſent was raiſed by the Amphictyons out of their ſacred money; and its architect was the Corinthian Spintharus.

CHAP. VI.

THEY ſay, too, that a moſt ancient city was built here by Parnaſſus, who was the ſon of the nymph Cleodora. And juſt the ſame as with reſpect to others that are called heroes,

heroes, they ſay, that his fathers were, of the gods, Neptune, and of men, Cleopompus; and that from him the mountain Parnaſſus and the thicket Parnaſſia were denominated. They farther add, that prophecy by the flight of birds was invented by this Parnaſſus; but that the city which he built was deſtroyed by the rain which fell in the times of Deucalion: that ſuch men as were able to fly from the ſtorm, followed the howlings of wolves, and, with wild beaſts for their guides, eſcaped to the ſummits of Parnaſſus; and that from this circumſtance they called the city which they built there, Lycorea. There is likewiſe another report different from this, that Lycorus was the ſon of Apollo by the nymph Corycia; that from him the city was called Lycorea: but that the cavern was denominated Corycium from the nymph. It is alſo ſaid, that Celæno was the daughter of Hyamus the ſon of Lycorus; and that Apollo had by her a ſon Delphos, from whom the preſent name of the city was derived. Others again ſay, that one Caſtalius, a native of this city, had a daughter whoſe name was Thyia, and who was the firſt that officiated as prieſteſs to Bacchus, and celebrated the orgies of the god. That from her, thoſe afterwards that were agitated with Bacchic fury came to be called *Thyiadai*. Hence, they are of opinion that Delphos was the ſon of Apollo and Thyia. But, according to others, his mother was Melæne the daughter of Cephiſſus.

Some time after this, not only the neighbouring people called the city Delphos, but likewiſe Pytho, as is evident from the verſes of Homer, in his catalogue of the Phocenſes. Thoſe, however, who are much converſant with genealogies, ſay that Pythis was the ſon of Delphos, and that from him, while he reigned here, the city was denomi-

nated. There is a report too among the vulgar, that a certain inhabitant of this place was pierced with the arrows of Apollo, and that on this account the city was called Pytho, becauſe at that time things which *putrefied* were ſaid *putheſthai*, which means *to become rotten*. Hence Homer ſays, that the iſland of the Sirens was full of bones, becauſe men that heard their ſong, *eputhonto*, i. e. *became rotten*. With reſpect to the animal that was ſlain by Apollo, the poets ſay it was a dragon, to whom Earth had committed the cuſtody of the oracle. It is alſo ſaid that Crius, when he reigned in Euboea, had a ſon of a very inſolent diſpoſition, who plundered the temple of Apollo, and the dwellings of the rich. But when he was about to plunder them a ſecond time with a band of robbers, the Delphi ſuppliantly implored Apollo to preſerve them from the impending danger: and Phemonoe, who was at that time the propheteſs, anſwered them in hexameter verſes to this effect: "In a ſhort time Phœbus will pierce with his arrows a man, the deſtroyer of Parnaſſus: but the Cretans ſhall purify their hands from the ſlaughter, and the fame of the dead ſhall never periſh."

CHAP. VII.

IT appears, indeed, that the temple in Delphos was from the firſt often plundered by the ſacrilegious. For after the Eubœan of whom we have juſt ſpoken, the nation of the Phlegyans, and Pyrrhus the ſon of Achilles, plundered it. After theſe, again it was robbed by a part of the forces of Xerxes, by the moſt powerful perſons among

among the Phocenſes (who enriched themſelves the moſt of all others, and for the longeſt time, with the treaſures of the god), and by the army of the Gauls. And laſt of all, this temple could not eſcape the impiety of Nero, who took away from hence five hundred brazen images, which were partly ſtatues of the gods, and partly of men. They relate, that a moſt ancient conteſt was eſtabliſhed here, which conſiſted in ſinging a hymn in honour of Apollo: and that he who firſt conquered in ſinging was the Cretan Chryſothemis, whoſe father Carmanor is ſaid to have purified Apollo. Philammon was the next that was victorious after Chryſothemis; and Thamyris the ſon of Philammon conquered after his father. They ſay that Orpheus was unwilling to engage in this conteſt, by reaſon of the dignity of his compoſition relative to the myſteries, and that elevation of ſoul which he acquired by his other productions; and that Muſæus would not engage in it, through his imitation of Orpheus in every reſpect. They ſay, too, that Eleuther bore away the Pythian palm, through ſpeaking with a loud and ſweet voice, as he was not able to ſing the ſong which he had compoſed. They likewiſe farther relate, that Heſiod was not permitted to contend, becauſe he had not learned to accompany his harp with his voice: but that Homer came to Delphos for the purpoſe of conſulting what was neceſſary to be done; though even if he had learnt to play on the harp, his art would have been of no uſe to him, through the loſs of his ſight. In the third year of the forty-eighth Olympiad, in which Glaucias the Crotonian was victor, the Amphictyons inſtituted games, in which there was ſinging to the harp as at firſt; and to which they added ſinging to the pipe, and playing on the pipe without ſinging. Cephalen

the ſon of Lampus was proclaimed victor on the harp; Arcas Echembrotus in ſinging to the pipe; and the Argive Sacadas in playing on the pipe without ſinging.

The ſame Sacadas too was twice victorious after this, in the Pythian games. And at that time the ſame conteſts were inſtituted as in the Olympic games, except the conteſt with four horſes. It was likewiſe eſtabliſhed by law, that boys ſhould contend in the long race, and in the twofold courſe. After this, Pythian games were inſtituted, in which a crown alone was the object of contention, and in which ſinging to the pipe was rejected, as not being pleaſing to the ear. For elegies and funeral dirges are accommodated to the melody of pipes. The ſacred offering of Echembrotus confirms what I have ſaid: for he dedicated in Thebes a brazen tripod to Hercules, with this inſcription: ECHEMBROTUS ARCAS DEDICATES THIS STATUE TO HERCULES, IN CONSEQUENCE OF HAVING BEEN VICTORIOUS IN THE CONTESTS OF THE AMPHICTYONS, AND THIS BY SINGING AMONG THE GREEKS, SONGS AND ELEGIES. This was the reaſon, therefore, why the conteſt of ſinging to the pipe ceaſed. Afterwards they added horſe-races, and Cliſthenes the Sicyonian tyrant was victorious in the chariot-race. In the eighth Pythiad, the conteſts of thoſe who play on the harp, but do not accompany it with their voice, were inſtituted; and in this conteſt Agelaus Tegeates was victorious. In the twenty-third Pythiad, the armed courſe was eſtabliſhed; and in this Timænetus the Phliaſian received the laurel crown, in five Olympiads after which Demaratus Heræenſis was victorious. In the forty-eighth Pythiad, the conteſt with the two-yoked car was adopted; and in this the car of Execeſtides the Phocenſian was victorious.

But in the fifth Pythiad from this, they ran with colts joined to the car; and in this the four colts of the Theban Orphondas gained the victory. They inſtituted, however, many years after the Eleans, the pancratium among boys, the car drawn by two colts, and the vaulting horſe: for they inſtituted the pancratium in the ſixty-firſt Pythiad, and in this the Theban Laidas was victorious: but one Pythiad after this, they eſtabliſhed the courſe with the vaulting colt; and in the ſixty-ninth Pythiad, the car drawn by two colts. And with the vaulting colt, indeed, the Lariſſæan Lycormas was victorious; but the Macedonian Ptolemy with the two-yoked car. For the Egyptian kings willingly ſuffered themſelves to be called Macedonians, as indeed they were. But it appears to me, that the laurel crown was given as the reward of victory in the Pythian games, for no other reaſon than becauſe, according to report, Daphne the daughter of Ladon was beloved by Apollo.

CHAP. VIII.

IT is ſaid that the firſt Grecian *Sunedrion*, or place of aſſociation, was raiſed here by Amphictyon the ſon of Deucalion, and that from him, thoſe who aſſembled here were called Amphictyons. But Androtion in his Attic hiſtory ſays, that all the inhabitants bordering on the Delphi came from the firſt to Delphos, and formed there an aſſembly; and that the members of this convention were called in proceſs of time Amphictyons. They ſay too that the following Grecian people were collected into this aſſembly by Amphictyon, viz. the Ionians, Dolopians, Theſſalians,

Theſſalians, Ænianians, Magnetæ, Maleenſes, Phthiotæ, Dorienſes, Phocenſes, and the Locrians that border on Phocis, and dwell under the mountain Cnemis. But when the Phocenſes plundered the temple, and in the tenth year when the war was finiſhed, the Synedrion of the Amphictyons was changed: for the Macedonians were admitted into this aſſembly; and the nation of the Phocenſes, and the Doric Lacedæmonians ceaſed to become members of it: the former on account of their ſacrilegious conduct; and the latter becauſe they aſſiſted the Phocenſes in war, and were for this obliged to pay a fine. But when Brennus led an army of Gauls to Delphos, the Phocenſes fought againſt them with an alacrity ſuperior to that of the other Greeks, and in conſequence of this again partook of the aſſembly of the Amphictyons, and recovered all their ancient dignity. Afterwards the Emperor Auguſtus was willing that the Nicopolitans at Actium ſhould likewiſe partake of this aſſembly. He therefore ordered the Magnetæ, Maleenſes, Ænianæ, and Phthiotæ, to join themſelves to the Theſſalians; and transferred the ſuffrages of theſe people and the Dolopians to the Nicopolitans. The Amphictyons in my time were thirty in number. Nicopolis, Macedonia, and the Theſſalians, had each of them two. Among the Bœotians (for theſe formerly were a part of Theſſaly, and were called the Æolenſes) there were two. So likewiſe the Phocenſes and the Delphi had each of them two; and the ancient Doric land had one. The Locri too, who are called Ozolæ, and thoſe who are beyond Eubœa, ſend each of them one: and the Eubœenſes and the Athenians each ſend one. The cities, indeed, Delphos and Nicopolis ſend members to the aſſembly of the Amphictyons, and are preſent

ſent at every aſſembly: but each of the other nations we have enumerated, only joins this convention at ſtated periods.

On coming into the city, you will ſee temples in a continued ſeries. The firſt of theſe is in a ruinous condition; the ſecond is without ſtatues; the third has images of the Roman emperors, but theſe are not numerous; and the fourth is called the temple of Minerva *Pronoia*. But of the ſtatues which are in the veſtibule of this temple, there is an offering of the Maſſilienſes, which is larger than the ſtatue within the temple. Theſe Maſſilienſes are a colony of the Phocaenſes, and a part of thoſe Ionians, who, in order to avoid Harpagus the Mede, fled from Phocœa. Having, however, vanquiſhed the Carthaginians in a naval battle, they took poſſeſſion of that country which they now inhabit, and arrived at a high degree of proſperity. The offering too of the Maſſilienſes is brazen. But the Delphi ſay, that the golden ſhield which was dedicated by Crœſus the Lydian king to Minerva Pronoia, was taken away by Philomelus. Near this temple of Minerva there is an heroic grove of Phylacus. According to the Delphi, this Phylacus aſſiſted them when they were attacked by the Perſians. But in that part of the gymnaſium which is in the open air, they ſay a wild boar was once born; that Ulyſſes, when he was going to Autolycus, hunted this boar together with the ſons of Autolycus; and that he was wounded by it on the knee. On turning to the left hand from the gymnaſium, and deſcending not more (as it appears to me) than three ſtadia, you will ſee the river Pliſtus. This river runs into Cirrha, a haven of the Delphi, and the ſea which is in that part. But on aſcending from the gymnaſium to the temple, you will ſee on the right hand of the road, the water

water of Caſtalia, which is ſweet to the taſte. They ſay that a woman, a native of this place, gave a name to the fountain; but ſome are of opinion, that it was denominated by a man whoſe name was Caſtalius. Panyaſſis, however, the ſon of Polyarchus, ſays, in the verſes which he compoſed on Hercules, that Caſtalia was the daughter of Achelous. For thus he ſpeaks concerning Hercules:

> "With rapid feet, Parnaſſus' ſnowy top
> He left behind, and to Caſtalia's ſtream
> Immortal Achelous' daughter came."

I have likewiſe heard it aſſerted, that this water of Caſtalia is the gift of the river Cephiſſus. Alcæus indeed ſays this, in the introduction of his hymn to Apollo: and this is confirmed by the Lilæenſes, who report, that when, on ſtated days, they throw into the fountain of Cephiſſus cattle belonging to their country, and other things according to eſtabliſhed rites, they are again ſeen in the river Caſtalia. The city of the Delphi in every part riſes to a ſteep: and the ſacred incloſure of Apollo has the ſame ſituation with the city. This temple is very large, and ſtands in the upper part of the city: and paſſages in a continued ſeries cut one another through the temple.

CHAP. IX.

I SHALL now give an account of thoſe ſacred offerings which appear to me to merit deſcription in the moſt eminent degree. For I ſhall not make any mention of thoſe athletæ and contending muſicians who are of no great eſtimation: and as to thoſe athletæ that have left behind

hind them a great reputation, the reader will find an account of them in my Eliacs. Phayllus, however, the Crotonian, is not among the number of theſe, becauſe he was not victorious in the Olympic games: but he was twice victorious in the quinquertium, and once in the ſtadium of the Pythian games. The ſame perſon, too, fought againſt the Perſians in a naval battle, furniſhing for this purpoſe a ſhip of his own, and manning it with ſuch of the Crotonians as were then travelling about Greece. There is a ſtatue of him among the Delphi: and ſuch are the particulars reſpecting this Crotonian. On entering into the grove, you will ſee a brazen bull, which was made by Theopropus Æginetes, and was the gift of the Corcyræans. It is ſaid that a bull once in Corcyra, having left the oxen his companions, and the paſtures in which he fed, came near the ſea and lowed; that in conſequence of his doing the ſame every day, the herdſman went to the ſea-ſide, and beheld an almoſt infinite number of tunny fiſhes; and that when he had informed the Corcyræans of this circumſtance, they, on endeavouring to catch theſe fiſhes, but without ſucceſs, ſent *ſpeculators* (*Theoroi*) to Delphos. In compliance therefore with the mandate of the oracle, they ſacrificed a bull to Neptune, and immediately after the ſacrifice caught the fiſhes. Hence they ſent both to Olympia and Delphos a tenth part of the value of what they caught, as a ſacred offering. After this, the gifts of the Tegeatæ from the ſpoils of the Lacedæmonians follow, viz. Apollo and Victory, heroes natives of their country; Calliſto the daughter of Lycaon; Arcas, from whom a country was denominated: the ſons of Arcas, viz. Aphidas and Azan; and together with theſe Triphylus, whoſe mother was

not

not Erato, but Laodamea the daughter of Amyclas, king of the Lacedæmonians.

They alſo dedicated Eraſus the ſon of Triphylus. But with reſpect to the artificers of theſe ſtatues, Apollo and Calliſto were made by Pauſanias the Apollonian; Victory, and the image of Arcas, by Dædalus the Sicyonian; Triphylus and Azan, by Arcas Samolas; and Elatus, Aphidas, and Eraſus, by the Argive Antiphanes. Theſe ſtatues the Tegeatæ ſent to Delphos, in conſequence of having made the Lacedæmonians captives, who made hoſtile incurſions on their borders. Oppoſite to theſe are the offerings which the Lacedæmonians dedicated when they vanquiſhed the Athenians, viz. the Dioſcuri, Jupiter, Apollo, Diana; and together with theſe, Neptune and Lyſander the ſon of Ariſtocretus, receiving a crown from Neptune. There are beſides, Abas, who propheſied to Lyſander, and Hermon, who was the pilot of Lyſander's prætorian ſhip. Theocoſmus the Megarenſian made this ſtatue of Hermon, when he was ranked among the citizens of the Megarenſes. But the Dioſcuri were made by the Argive Antiphanes. The prophet Abas was made by Pauſon from Calaurea belonging to the Troezenians. Damias made Diana, Neptune, and Lyſander; and Athenodorus Apollo and Jupiter. Both theſe artiſts were Arcadians from Clitor. Behind the ſtatues which we have juſt mentioned, the ſtatues of thoſe men are placed who aſſiſted Lyſander in the battle at Ægoſpotamos, and who were either Spartans, or the allies of the Spartans. And theſe are as follow: Aracus and Erianthes, the former a Lacedæmonian, and the latter a Bœotian from Mimas. After theſe Aſtycrates, Cephiſocles, Hermophantus, Hiciſius, Chians; Timarchus and Diagoras, Rhodians; Theodamas

damus the Cnidian, Cimmerius the Epheſian, Æantides the Mileſian ſucceed. All theſe were made by Tiſander.

Theſe that follow were made by Alypus the Sicyonian, viz. Theopompus the Midean, Cleomedes the Samian; from Eubœa, Ariſtocles the Caryſtian, Autonomus the Eretrienſian, Ariſtophantus the Corinthian, Apollodorus the Troezenian: and from Epidaurus in the borders of the Argives, Dion. Next to theſe are the Achaian Axionicus from Pellene, Theares from Hermione, Pyrias from Phocis, Conon from Megara, Agimenes from Sicyon, Pythodotus the Corinthian, Telecrates the Leucadian, and Euantidas from Ambracia. Laſt of all follow the Lacedæmonians, Epicyridas and Eteonicus. They ſay that theſe were made by Patrocles and Canachus. But the Athenians affirm, that the loſs which they ſuffered at Ægoſpotamos happened to them unjuſtly, in conſequence of the commanders of their army being bribed. For they ſay that Tydeus and Adimantus received preſents from Lyſander: and in proof of this they adduce the following Sibylline oracle: "And then ſhall high-thundering Jupiter, who poſſeſſes the greateſt ſtrength, ſeverely afflict the Athenians: for he will bring war and deſtruction on their ſhips, which will periſh through the fraudulent conduct of their commanders." They likewiſe produce the following teſtimony from the oracles of Muſæus: "A mighty ſtorm ſhall burſt on the Athenians, through the baſeneſs of their leaders; but they will be conſoled for their misfortune, by ſubverting the city of their enemies, and avenging the loſs which they ſuſtained." And thus much concerning this affair. But the ſame Sibyl predicted, that the event of the engagement which took place between the Lacedæmonians and Argives above Thyrea, would be doubtful.

doubtful. The Argives, however, being of opinion that they ſhould vanquiſh their enemies, ſent a brazen horſe to the ſtatue of Durius at Delphos: and this horſe was made by the Argive Antiphanes.

CHAP. X.

ON the baſis under this horſe there is an inſcription, which ſignifies that ſtatues were dedicated here from the tenth of the ſpoils of the battle at Marathon. Theſe ſtatues are Minerva and Apollo; and of the commanders, Miltiades. But of thoſe that are called heroes, Erechtheus, Cecrops, and Pandion: Celeus likewiſe, and Antiochus the ſon of Hercules, by Midea the daughter of Phylas, together with Ægeus; and of the ſons of Theſeus, Acamas. Theſe, in conſequence of a Delphic oracle, gave names to the Athenian tribes. Here too there are ſtatues of Codrus the ſon of Melanthus, Theſeus and Phyleus, who were not ranked among the ſurnames. All theſe ſtatues were made by Phidias, and are in reality the tenths of the Marathonian battle. Afterwards they ſent Antigonus and his ſon Demetrius, and the Egyptian Ptolemy, to Delphos; the latter on account of their benevolence towards him; and the two former, through fear. Other gifts of the Argives may be ſeen not far from this horſe, viz. thoſe leaders who together with Polynices warred on Thebes; Adraſtus the ſon of Talaus, and Tydeus the ſon of Oeneus: the grandſons likewiſe of Proctus, together with Capaneus the ſon of Hipponous, and Eteocles the ſon of Iphis: and beſides theſe, Polynices, and Hippomedon who was the ſon of the ſiſter of Adraſtus.

tus. Amphiaraus too is dedicated here, with his chariot, which is placed near him. Baton ſtands in this chariot, who was the charioteer of Amphiaraus, and at the ſame time allied to him by his birth. The laſt of theſe is Alitherſes. The artificers of all theſe were Hypatodorus and Ariſtogiton: and they ſay that the Argives dedicated them out of the ſpoils of the victory, which, through the aſſiſtance of the Athenians, they gained over the Lacedæmonians in Oenoe, an Argive city. It appears to me too, that the Argives dedicated out of the ſame ſpoils the images of thoſe who are called by the Greeks *Epigonoi*, or *poſterior ſons*. For ſtatues of theſe are placed here, viz. Sthenelus, and Alcmæon, who in my opinion was honoured above Amphilocus, on account of his age. To theſe are added, Promachus, Therſander, Ægialeus, and Diomed. Euryalus too ſtands between Diomed and Ægialeus.

Oppoſite to theſe there are other ſtatues, which were dedicated by the Argives, when they aſſiſted Epaminondas the Theban general in reſtoring the Meſſenians. There are likewiſe images here of heroes, viz. king Danaus, who arrived at the higheſt degree of power and wealth in Argos: Hypermneſtra, becauſe ſhe was the only one of his daughters that had pure hands: and near her Lynceus, and all thoſe who derive their origin from Hercules, and ſtill higher from Perſeus. There are beſides brazen horſes of the Tarentines, and captive women, which the Tarentines ſent in conſequence of having conquered the Meſſapians, who are a barbarous nation bordering on the Tarentines: and theſe are the works of the Argive Ageladas. The Lacedæmonians indeed colonized Tarentum under the command of the Spartan Phalanthus, who, when he was ſent on this errand, was

told by a Delphic oracle, that when he ſhould ſee rain falling from a ſerene ſky, he would then poſſeſs a land and city. But as he was not able by himſelf to diſcover the meaning of the oracle, and did not conſult any interpreter, he ſailed with a fleet to Italy. Here having conquered the Barbarians, but neither obtaining any land or city, he recollected the oracle, and was of opinion that the god had predicted that which could not be accompliſhed; as it appeared to him impoſſible that there ſhould be rain when the ſky was clear and ſerene. His wife, however, when he was in a deſponding condition (for he had returned home), endeavoured to conſole him by her endearing officiouſneſs; and as ſhe was once ſupporting his head on her knees, and freeing it from vermin, through a benevolent concern for the adverſe ſituation of his affairs ſhe began to weep; and her tears, as ſhe wept abundantly, fell on the head of her huſband, who then perceived the meaning of the oracle: for his wife's name was *Æthra*, which is the Greek word for *a ſerene ſky*. On the following night therefore he took Tarentum, a great and moſt flouriſhing maritime city of the Barbarians. They ſay, indeed, that the hero Taras was the ſon of Neptune, by a nymph, a native of Tarentum; and that from the hero both a city and river are denominated Taras.

CHAP. XI.

NEAR the ſacred offerings of the Tarentines, there is a treaſury of the Sicyonians: but there are neither any riches in this, nor in any other treaſury. The Gnidii likewiſe

likewiſe brought ſtatues to Delphos, viz. Triopas, who built Gnidus, ſtanding by a horſe; Latona, Apollo, and Diana, piercing Tityus with their arrows, whoſe body is repreſented wounded. Theſe ſtood near the treaſury of the Sicyonians. The Siphnii too made a treaſury on the following account. The iſland Siphnos had gold-mines; and they were ordered by Apollo to ſend a tenth of the produce of theſe mines to Delphos; in conſequence of which they built a treaſury, and ſent with it a tenth of the produce of their mines. Afterwards, however, through their immoderate deſire of accumulating wealth, they neglected to ſend the tenth of their riches to Delphos; and in conſequence of this their gold mines were deſtroyed by an inundation of the ſea. The Liparæi likewiſe have dedicated ſtatues here for a naval victory, which they gained over the Tyrrheni. Theſe Liparæi were a colony of Gnidians, who, as we are informed by the Syracuſan Antiochus the ſon of Xenophanes, in his Sicilian hiſtory, were colonized by a Gnidian, whoſe name was Pentathlus. This hiſtorian adds, that the Gnidians being driven from that city which they had built at Pachynum, a promontory of Sicily, by the Elymi and Phœnicians, either took poſſeſſion of deſert iſlands, or drove the inhabitants out of the iſlands on which they landed: and theſe, in conformity to the verſes of Homer, they call at preſent the iſlands of Æolus. In Lipara, one of theſe iſlands, they built a city: but they ſailed to Hiera, Strongyle, and Didymæ, for the purpoſe of cultivating the land in theſe places.

It is evident that in Strongyle fire riſes out of the ground: and in Hiera fire ſpontaneouſly aſcends from the promontory on the iſland. Near the ſea here there

are baths of ſalubrious water, and of a more temperate nature: for the water in other parts is not adapted for bathing, through its great heat. But to return to the gifts in the temple, the Thebans and Athenians have dedicated here treaſuries, in conſequence of ſucceſs in war. I do not however know, whether the Gnidians built their treaſury in conſequence of any victory, or for the purpoſe of ſhewing the proſperous condition of their affairs. For the Thebans dedicated treaſuries on account of the victory which they gained at Leuctra, and the Athenians for their ſucceſs at Marathon. But the Cleonæi being afflicted with a peſtilence in the ſame manner as the Athenians, by the admonition of the Delphic oracle, immolated a goat to the riſing ſun, and, when they were by this means freed from their malady, ſent a brazen goat to Apollo. After theſe follow the gifts of the Potidæatæ in Thrace, and of the Syracuſans. Theſe laſt ſent a treaſury to the temple, on account of the great victory which they obtained over the Athenians: but the Potidæatæ ſent a treaſury as a teſtimony of their piety to the god. The Athenians too have dedicated a porch, from the ſpoils which they took from the Peloponneſians and their Grecian allies. In this place likewiſe the ornaments belonging to the extremities of ſhips are dedicated, and together with them brazen ſhields. The inſcription on theſe mentions the cities from which the Athenians ſent the firſt fruits of their ſpoils, viz. Elis, Lacedæmon, Sicyon, Megara, the Pellenenſes, the Achaians, Ambracia, Leucas, and Corinth. They ſacrifice to Theſeus for theſe naval victories, and to Neptune whom they call *Orios*. This inſcription, too, as it appears to me, celebrates Phormio the ſon of Aſopichus, and his illuſtrious achievements.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

A STONE elevates itſelf above this place, on which the Sibyl Herophile (as the Delphi ſay) uſed to ſing her oracles. I have found that this Sibyl was thus denominated from the firſt in the ſame manner as any other ancient Sibyl. The Greeks ſay that ſhe was the daughter of Jupiter and Lamia; that Lamia was the daughter of Neptune; and that ſhe was the firſt woman that ſang oracles, and was denominated by the Africans Sibylla. This Sibyl Herophile, indeed, was certainly poſterior to Lamia; but at the ſame time it appears, that ſhe flouriſhed prior to the Trojan war. For ſhe predicted, that Helen would be educated in Sparta, that ſhe would be the deſtruction of Aſia and Europe, and that Troy through her means would be taken by the Greeks. The Delians make mention of her hymns to Apollo: and in her verſes ſhe not only calls herſelf Herophile, but likewiſe Diana. She likewiſe aſſerts of herſelf, that ſhe is the wife of Apollo; and beſides this, that ſhe is his ſiſter and daughter. But theſe aſſertions are the reſult of her being agitated with fury, and, poſſeſſed by the god. In another part too of her oracles, ſhe ſays, that ſhe was born from an immortal mother, viz. one of the nymphs of mount Ida, and a mortal father: for thus ſhe ſpeaks concerning herſelf:

> "From an immortal nymph, and whale-fed ſire,
> A mean between the two, I ſprung to light,
> From one of Ida's nymphs begot; my native land
> Is red Marpeſſus where Aidoneus flows,
> A country ſacred to the mighty Ops."

Even at preſent there are ruins, in the Trojan mount Ida, of the city Marpeſſus; and it contains about ſixty inhabitants. All the country about Marpeſſus is red, and very ſultry. Hence it appears to me, that the reaſon why the river Aidoneus, at one time hides itſelf in the earth, again emerges, and at laſt entirely diſappears under ground, is to be aſcribed to the attenuated and cavernous nature of mount Ida. Marpeſſus is diſtant from the Trojan city Alexandrea about two hundred and forty ſtadia. The inhabitants of Alexandrea ſay, that Herophile was the guardian of the temple of Apollo, and that ſhe propheſied, in conſequence of a dream of Hecuba, ſuch things as I am very certain afterwards happened. This Sibyl dwelt the greateſt part of her life in Samos: ſhe likewiſe came to Delos and Delphos, in which laſt place ſhe delivered her oracles on the ſtone which we have already mentioned.

She died in Troy: her ſepulchre is in the grove of Smintheus: and on it there is a pillar with the following inſcription:

I who am buried in this ſtone ſepulchre
Am a Sibyl, a clear interpreter of the will
Of Phœbus:
I was once a vocal virgin, but am now for ever dumb:
And lie thus fettered, through the oppreſſive power
Of Fate.
I am however placed under the Nymphs and Mercury;
And it is from Apollo that I receive this
Deſtiny, as the reward of my ancient
Sacerdotal office.

Near her ſepulchre there is a ſtone Mercury of a quadrangular figure; and on the left hand there is water running into a receptacle, and near it there are ſtatues of Nymphs.

The Erithræi (for theſe people contend about Herophile the moſt eagerly of all the Greeks) ſhew a mountain called Corycus, and in it a cavern, in which they ſay Herophile was born. They farther add, that her parents were a ſhepherd, Theodorus, a native of their country, and a nymph who was called Ida: and that the nymph was thus denominated, for no other reaſon than becauſe men at that time called places thick-planted with trees, *Idai*. But the Erythræi do not rank among the oracles of Herophile, the verſe reſpecting Marpeſſus, and the river Aidoneus. One Hyperochus a Cumæan writes, that after Herophile a woman of Cuma belonging to the Opici, uſed to deliver oracles in the ſame manner as Herophile, and that this woman was called Demo.

The Cumæans, however, cannot produce any oracles of Demo; but they ſhew a ſtone water-pot in the temple of Apollo, in which they ſay the bones of this Sibyl are depoſited. After Demo, the Hebrews beyond Palæſtine rank among the number of prophetic women, Sabbe, whoſe father they ſay was Beroſus, and whoſe mother was Erymanthe. Some, however, call this Sibyl a Babylonian, and others an Ægyptian. But Phaennis, who was the daughter of a man that reigned over the Chaones, and the Peleæ among the Dodonæans, propheſied indeed from a divine power; but were not denominated Sibyls. As to the age and oracles of Phaennis, the former may be known by inquiry, and there is no difficulty in obtaining the latter: for ſhe lived in thoſe times in which Antiochus, having taken Demetrius priſoner, ſeized on his kingdom. But they ſay that the Peleades were prior to Phemonoe, and were the firſt women that ſang theſe verſes:

"Jove was, Jove is, and will be, mighty Jove!
Earth gives us fruits, hence call on mother Earth."

They ſay, too, that the following prophetic men, Euclus the Cyprian, Muſæus the Athenian and the ſon of Antiophemus, Lycus the ſon of Pandion, and Bacis from Bœotia, were inſpired by nymphs. I have read all the oracles of theſe, except thoſe of Lycus. And thus much concerning men and women, as far as to the preſent time, who are ſaid to have propheſied from divine inſpiration.

CHAP. XIII.

BUT the brazen head of the Pæonian bull called *Biſon*, or *buff*, was ſent to Delphos by Dropion the ſon of Deon, and king of the Pœonians. Theſe buffs are taken alive with more difficulty than any other wild beaſts: for there are not any nets ſtrong enough to hold them. They are therefore hunted in the following manner: The hunters chooſe a ſteep place, which terminates in a hollow. This place they firſt fortify with a ſtrong incloſure: then they cover the ſteep and the plain near the ſteep with the hides of oxen recently ſlain; but if they have not a ſufficiency of theſe, they lubricate old hides with oil. After this, very ſkilful horſemen drive the buffs into this incloſure, who falling through the ſlipperineſs of the hides are hurled headlong to the bottom of the plain. Here they leave them for four or five days, till they are debilitated by wearineſs and hunger, and are conſiderably tamed. Then thoſe who are ſkilled in the art of taming theſe animals place before them, while they are lying in this weak condition, the fruit of a pine nut, having firſt of all ſtripped it of the inward ſkin: for at that time the buffs do not

deſire

desire any other food. And last of all they bind them, and bring them away from the hollow. Opposite to the brazen head of the Bison there is a statue which is invested with a coat of mail, and a robe over it. The Delphi say that this was dedicated by the Andrii, and that it is the statue of Andreus by whom they were colonized. Here too there are statues of Minerva and Diana, which were dedicated by the Phocenses, for having conquered the Thessalians their perpetual enemies, and those who border on their dominions, except in that part in which they are separated from Phocis, by the intervention of the Locrian Hypocnemidii. The Thessalians likewise at Pharsalus, and the Macedonians who inhabit the city Dios under Pieria, and the Grecian Cyrenæans in Libya, have sent sacred offerings to this temple. For these last dedicated a chariot, in which Ammon stands: but the Diatæ dedicated an Apollo laying hold of a stag: and the Pharsalians an Achilles on horseback. The Corinthians too, who are ranked among the Dorienses, built a treasury: and in this they deposited the gold which they received from the Lydians. But the statue of Hercules is the gift of the Thebans, in consequence of that war with the Phocenses which is called *sacred*.

Here likewise there are brazen images which the Phocenses dedicated, when in a second engagement they vanquished the Thessalian horse. The Phliasians too sent a brazen Jupiter to Delphos, and together with Jupiter an image of Ægina. The Mantineans from Arcadia dedicated a brazen Apollo, which is not far from the treasury of the Corinthians. Hercules and Apollo hold a tripod, and are on the point of fighting with each other for its possession.

ſeſſion: but Latona and Diana appeaſe the anger of Apollo, and Minerva that of Hercules. This too was the gift of the Phocenſes, which they dedicated at that time when the Elean Tellias led the Theſſalians againſt them. The other ſtatues were made in common by Diyllus and Amyclæus; but Minerva and Diana were made by Chion. They ſay that theſe artiſts were Corinthians. The Delphi too report, that, when Hercules the ſon of Amphitryon came to this oracle, the prophet Xenocleas was unwilling to give him an anſwer to his interrogation, becauſe he was polluted with the ſlaughter of Iphitus; but that Hercules took up the tripod, and carried it out of the temple; upon which the prophet ſaid: "This is a Tirynthian Hercules, and not Canobeus." For prior to this an Egyptian Hercules came to Delphos. But then the ſon of Amphitryon reſtored the tripod to Apollo, and was inſtructed by Xenocleas in whatever he was deſirous of learning. And it is from this circumſtance that poets have taken occaſion to ſing of the conteſt between Hercules and Apollo for a tripod. A golden tripod ſupported by a dragon of braſs was the gift of the Greeks in common, for the victory gained at Platæa. And even at preſent the brazen part of this offering remains entire; but the golden part was taken away by the Phocenſian commanders. The Tarentines alſo ſent to Delphos another tenth of the ſpoils taken from a barbarous people called the Peucetii. And theſe offerings were made by Onatas Æginetes and Calynthus. They conſiſt of images of men on foot and on horſeback. Opis king of the Iapyges is repreſented giving aſſiſtance to the Peucetii, and reſembles a perſon dying in the engagement. Thoſe that ſtand near him are, the hero Taras, and

and the Lacedæmonian Phalanthus: and not far from Phalanthus there is a dolphin. For before he came into Italy, he was ſhipwrecked in the Criſſæan ſea was, they ſay, brought on ſhore by a dolphin.

CHAP. XIV.

BUT the battle-axes which are dedicated here were the gift of Periclytus the ſon of Euthymachus the Tenedian. An ancient ſtory aſſigns the reaſon of their being dedicated. This ſtory informs us, that Cycnus was the ſon of Neptune, and that he reigned in Colonæ, a Trojan town which is ſituated near the iſland Leucophrys. This Cycnus had a daughter whoſe name was Hemithea, and a ſon named Tennes, by Proclea the daughter of Clytius, and the ſiſter of Caletor, who, as we are informed by Homer in the Iliad, was ſlain by Ajax, becauſe he brought fire to the ſhip of Proteſilaus. On the death of Proclea, Cycnus married Philonome the daughter of Craugaſus, who falling in love with her ſon-in-law Tennes, and being repulſed by him, falſely accuſed him to her huſband of endeavouring to have connection with her againſt her will. Cycnus becoming the dupe of her deception, ſhut up Tennes and his ſiſter in a cheſt, and threw them into the ſea. They were, however, carried with ſafety to the iſland Leucophrys, which is now denominated Tenedos from Tennes. But Cycnus, having in proceſs of time diſcovered the fraudulent conduct of his wife, ſailed in ſearch of his ſon, in order that he might juſtify himſelf by pleading in his defence that he was ignorant of his wife's artifice, and beg

beg pardon for the deed. When therefore he drove to the iſland Leucophrys, and had faſtened his veſſel either to a ſtone or a trunk of a tree, Tennes, impelled by anger, ſlew him with a battle-ax. And hence it came to be a proverbial ſaying, when any one reſolutely denied complying with the requeſt of another, that he cut him down with a Tenedian battle-ax. The Greeks ſay that Tennes was ſlain by Achilles, as he was making depredations on this iſland. But the Tenedii in proceſs of time joined themſelves to the Trojan Alexandreans, through the imbecility of their affairs.

The Greeks too, who warred againſt the Perſians, dedicated in Olympia a brazen Jupiter, and in Delphos an Apollo, for the naval victory which they obtained at Artemiſium and Salamis. It is alſo ſaid, that Themiſtocles, when he came to Delphos, dedicated to Apollo the ſpoils of the Medes; and that, on his inquiring whether he might place theſe gifts within the temple, the Pythian prieſteſs ordered him to carry them entirely away from the temple. But the oracle which ſhe gave him reſpecting this was as follows: "Place not in my temple the beautiful ſpoils of the Perſians, but ſwiftly carry them to your own habitation." It is certainly a wonderful circumſtance, that the god ſhould alone reject the ſpoils of the Medes which were preſented by Themiſtocles. Some, however, are of opinion, that all the Perſian ſpoils would have been rejected, if, like Themiſtocles, they had firſt interrogated Apollo whether he would accept them. Others again ſay, that, as Apollo foreknew Themiſtocles would become a ſuppliant to the Perſians, he was unwilling to receive their ſpoils, leſt the Perſians through hatred of the donor ſhould reject his ſupplications. You may find this

irruption

irruption of the Barbarians into Greece predicted in the oracles of Bacis: and, ſtill prior to theſe, verſes reſpecting this affair were publiſhed by Euclus. There is a brazen wolf too near the greateſt altar in this temple, which was dedicated by the Delphi themſelves. They ſay, that a certain man having ſtolen ſome of the riches of the god, hid himſelf, with the ſacred treaſure, in that part of Parnaſſus in which there was the greateſt quantity of wild trees; that a wolf attacked and ſlew this man as he was aſleep, and afterwards uſed to run into the city howling every day. That the inhabitants, conſidering this circumſtance could not happen without the interference of a divine power, followed the wolf, found the ſacred gold, and dedicated a brazen wolf in conſequence of this to the god. The golden ſtatue of Phryne here was made by Praxiteles, who was one of her lovers; but the ſtatue was dedicated by Phryne.

CHAP. XV.

THE offerings which follow this are two ſtatues of Apollo; one of which was dedicated by the Epidaurians in the borders of the Argives, from the ſpoils of the Medes; and the other was dedicated by the Megarenſes, in conſequence of having conquered the Athenians at Niſſæa. But the ox which was dedicated here by the Platæenſes, is an offering for having, in conjunction with the other Greeks, revenged themſelves in their own dominions on Mardonius the ſon of Gobrias. After this there are again two ſtatues of Apollo, one of which was dedicated

dedicated by the Heracleotæ near the Euxine ſea, and the other by the Amphictyons from a fine which they levied on the Phocenſes for cultivating the land ſacred to the god. This Apollo is called by the Delphi *Sitalcas*, and is thirty-five cubits in magnitude. Here too there are many ſtatues of commanders. There are beſides ſtatues of Diana and Minerva, and two of Apollo, which were dedicated by the Ætolians when they vanquiſhed the Gauls. Phaennis, indeed, in her oracles, predicted that the army of the Celtæ would paſs over from Europe into Aſia, and prove the deſtruction of Aſiatic cities, one age prior to the accompliſhment of her prediction: "Then, indeed, the pernicious army of the Celtæ, having paſſed over the narrow ſea of the Helleſpont, ſhall play on the flute, and in *a lawleſs manner* depopulate Aſia. But divinity will ſtill more ſeverely afflict thoſe that dwell near the ſea. However, in a ſhort time after Jupiter will ſend them a defender, the beloved ſon of a Jove-nouriſhed bull, who will bring deſtruction on all the Gauls."

Phaennis in this oracle means by the ſon of a bull, Attalus king of Pergamus, whom the oracle of Apollo called *Taurokeroos*, or bull-horned. The generals of the horſe, who are themſelves ſeated on horſeback, were dedicated by the Pheræi, for having vanquiſhed the Athenian horſe. But the Athenians dedicated the brazen palm, with the gilt ſtatue of Minerva, in conſequence of having gained in one and the ſame day a victory by land near Eurymedon, and by ſea in the ſame river. When I ſaw that the gold was plucked from this ſtatue in many places, I threw the blame on the ſacrilegious; but I found afterwards in the account of the Attic affairs by Clitodemus, that, when the Athenians had prepared themſelves for the

Sicilian expedition, an immenſe number of crows came at that time to Delphos, and tore away the gold of the ſtatue with their beaks. The ſame hiſtorian adds, that theſe crows tore off the ſpear, the owls, and all that was carved in the palm-tree in imitation of ripe fruit. Clitodemus too relates other prodigies, which were ſent in order to deter the Athenians from that expedition. The Cyrenæi too dedicated in Delphos a ſtatue of Battus in a chariot, becauſe he brought them by ſea from Thera to Libya. In this chariot the nymph Libye crowns Battus: and this offering was made by the Gnoſſian Amphion, the ſon of Aceſtor. When Battus built Cyrene, he is ſaid to have obtained the following remedy for his defect of ſpeech. As the Cyrenæans were travelling through Africa, and were yet in the deſerts ſituated in its extremities, Battus beheld a lion, and through the terror which the ſight of the beaſt produced in him, he was compelled to cry out with a clear and loud voice. Not far from the ſtatue of Battus there is another ſtatue of Apollo, which was dedicated by the Amphictyons out of the money which the Phocenſes were fined for their impiety to Apollo.

CHAP. XVI.

OF all the offerings, however, which the Lydian kings ſent to Apollo, nothing at preſent remains except the iron baſis of the bowl of Halyattes. This was made by Glaucus the Chian, who firſt diſcovered the art of ſoldering iron. Indeed, the junctures of this baſis are not formed from any claſps or nails, but from ſolder alone. The form of the

the baſis for the moſt part reſembles that of a tower, and riſes from an acute bottom to a broad top. Each of its ſides is covered throughout, but is begirt with tranſverſe zones of iron, like the ſteps in a ladder. Straight and ductile lamina of iron are bent in their extremities outwards: and this was the ſeat of the bowl. But that which is called by the Delphi the navel, and which is made of white ſtone, is, as they ſay, the middle point of the whole earth. And Pindar in one of his odes ſpeaks in conformity to this opinion. Here too there is an offering of the Lacedæmonians, viz. Hermione the daughter of Menelaus, who was married to Oreſtes the ſon of Agamemnon, and prior to this to Neoptolemus the ſon of Achilles. This was made by Calamis. The Ætolians likewiſe dedicated in this temple a ſtatue of Eurydamus, who was their commander when they fought againſt the Gauls. In the mountains of Crete the city Elyros yet exiſts. This city ſent a brazen goat to Apollo, which is repreſented ſuckling Phylacis and Phylander. The Elyrians ſay, that theſe were the ſons of Apollo and the nymph Acacallis; and that Apollo had connection with her in the city Tarrha, and in the houſe of Carmanor. But the Caryſtii from Eubœa ſent a brazen ox to Apollo for having gained a victory over the Perſians.

Both the Caryſtii and Platæenſes, indeed, dedicated oxen, as it appears to me, becauſe, having expelled the Barbarians from Greece, they obtained in other reſpects a ſtable degree of property, and were enabled to cultivate a free land. The Ætolians dedicated the images of their commanders, and together with theſe Apollo and Diana, in conſequence of having conquered their neighbours the Acarnanes. What the Liparæans relate of themſelves with reſpect

reſpect to the Tyrrheni is moſt abſurd. For they ſay, that the Pythian deity having ordered them to engage the Tyrrheni with a very ſmall fleet of ſhips, they on the contrary drew out againſt them five three-oared galleys. That the Tyrrheni conſidering themſelves as not inferior in naval ſtrength and ſkill to the Leparæans, attacked them with an equal number of ſhips. But when the Liparæans took the five galleys of the Tyrrheni, the Tyrrheni attacked them a ſecond, third, and fourth time with the like number of veſſels. All theſe however were taken by the Liparæans, who in conſequence of this victory ſent as many ſtatues of Apollo to Delphos, as the number of the ſhips which they had captured amounted to. Echecratides, too, a Lariſſæan, dedicated a ſmall Apollo: and the Delphi ſay, that this was dedicated the firſt of all the offerings.

CHAP. XVII.

THE Barbarians that inhabit Sardinia towards the weſt, ſent to this temple a brazen ſtatue of him from whom they were denominated. Sardinia, for its magnitude and proſperous condition, may be compared with the moſt celebrated iſlands. I do not know what this iſland was formerly called by the inhabitants; but thoſe Grecians that ſail to it for commercial purpoſes, call it *Ichnuſſa, becauſe its form reſembles the impreſſion of a man's foot.* The length of this iſland is about ſix hundred and twenty, and its breadth, four hundred and twenty ſtadia. The Libyans are ſaid to have been the firſt that ſailed to this iſland, under the command of Sardus the ſon of Maceris, who

was ſurnamed Hercules by the Ægyptians and Libyans. Nothing more remarkable is related of the father of Sardus, Maceris, than that he once came to Delphos. Sardus brought a colony of Libyans to Ichnuſſa; and hence the iſland came to be called after the name of Sardus. This colony of Libyans did not exterminate the natives. The natives however aſſociated with the new inhabitants more through neceſſity than regard. The Libyans too, at that time, were as ignorant in the art of building cities, as the native inhabitants of this iſland: and hence, they dwelt in ſtraggling cottages, and in caverns. Some years after the Libyans had ſettled here, thoſe Grecians that followed Ariſtæus came into this iſland. They ſay that Ariſtæus was the ſon of Apollo and the nymph Cyrene, and that having bitterly lamented the misfortune of Actæon, and being hated by Bœotia and all Greece, he migrated to Sardinia. Some too are of opinion, that Dædalus fled at the ſame time through fear of the Cretan arms, and that he aſſiſted Ariſtæus in bringing a colony into Sardinia. There is however no probability, that Dædalus could be the companion of Ariſtæus, either in eſtabliſhing a colony, or in any other undertaking, as Ariſtæus was married to Autonoe the daughter of Cadmus, and Dædalus was contemporary with Oedipus king of Thebes.

Ariſtæus, however, and the Grecians that followed him, did not build any city, becauſe, as it appears to me, they were neither numerous nor ſtrong enough for this purpoſe. After Ariſtæus the Iberi paſſed over into Sardinia under the command of Norax, and built a city which they called Nora. They ſay that this city was the firſt that was built in this iſland; and that Norax was the ſon of Mercury by Erythea the daughter of Geryon. A fourth band,

band, compoſed of Theſpians and inhabitants of the Attic land, came to Sardinia under the command of Iolaus. Theſe built the city Olbia, which is alſo called Ogrylle, either after the name of ſome one of the Attic towns, or becauſe Gryllus partook of this expedition. Even at preſent therefore there are certain places in Sardinia which are called Iolaii; and Iolaus is honoured by the inhabitants. After the deſtruction of Troy, others of the Trojans ſaved themſelves by flight, as well as the followers of Æneas. Of theſe one part was driven by tempeſts to Sardinia, and became mingled with the Greeks that reſided there prior to this circumſtance. But the Barbarians were prevented from warring on the Greeks and Trojans, becauſe there was an equality on both ſides in all warlike preparations, and the river Thorſus, which flows through the middle of the iſland, was a barrier to the junction of the two parties. Many years after this, the Libyans came with a greater fleet to Sardinia, and attacking the Greeks that dwelt there, either ſlew them all, or at leaſt left but a very few alive. But the Trojans on this occaſion fled to the elevated parts of the iſland, and entrenching themſelves in mountains difficult of acceſs through their ruggedneſs, and the hanging rocks with which they were ſurrounded, are even at preſent called Ilienſes. They are however in their form, the apparatus of their arms, and their manner of living, like the Africans. Not far from Sardinia there is an iſland called by the Greeks Cyrnos, but by the Libyans that inhabit it Corſica. No ſmall part of the inhabitants of this iſland being incited to ſedition, paſſed over to Sardinia, and having ſeized on the mountains, fixed their reſidence in them. Theſe by the inhabitants of Sardinia are denominated from

their founder, Corſi. But the Carthaginians, as they were very powerful by ſea, drove out all the inhabitants from Sardinia, except the Ilienſes and Corſi: for ſteep and fortified mountains prevented them from ſubduing theſe.

The Carthaginians built in this iſland two cities, Carnalis and Sylli: but a diſpute ariſing concerning the ſpoil, the Libyans and Spaniards revolted from the Carthaginians, and ſettled themſelves in the elevated parts of the iſland. The Corſi call theſe people in their native tongue, *Balaroi*; for thus they denominate exiles. And ſuch are the nations which inhabit Sardinia, and ſuch the cities into which it is divided. But thoſe parts of the iſland which are ſituated towards the north, and the coaſt of Italy, are nothing but mountains difficult of acceſs, and whoſe ſummits are conjoined with each other. Theſe parts, however, afford a very good harbour for ſhips; and ſtrong and irregular winds ruſh from the tops of the neighbouring mountains into the ſea. In the middle of the iſland too there are leſs elevated mountains; but the air in this part is very turbid and noxious. The reaſon of this is the ſalt which becomes concreted here, and the heavy and violent ſouth-wind which blows from theſe mountains. The northern winds, too, through the loftineſs of the mountains towards the Italian coaſt, are prevented from refrigerating the ground and the air in ſummer. Others are of opinion, that the iſland Corſica, which is ſeparated from Sardinia by not more than eight ſtadia of ſea, and which is on all ſides mountainous and elevated, prevents the weſt and north winds from reaching as far as Sardinia. But neither ſerpents deſtructive to mankind, nor ſuch as are harmleſs, nor wolves are produced in this iſland. And as to the goats which it contains, they

are

are not larger than thoſe in other places, and they reſemble in their form the ram, which may be ſeen in the plaſtic productions of Æginæas. About the breaſt however they are more hairy: and the horns on their head are not ſeparated from each other, but are from their roots bent back towards their ears. In ſwiftneſs too ſurpaſs all wild beaſts. This ſame iſland is likewiſe free from all kinds of poiſonous and deadly herbs, excepting one herb, which reſembles parſley, and which, they ſay, cauſes thoſe who eat it to die laughing. From this circumſtance, Homer firſt, and others after him, call laughter, which conceals ſome noxious deſign, *Sardonian.* This herb is moſtly produced about fountains; but yet it does not communicate its poiſonous quality to the water. And thus much concerning Sardinia, which we have inſerted into our account of the Phocenſian affairs, becauſe the Greeks have a very inconſiderable knowledge of this iſland.

CHAP. XVIII.

A HORSE ſtands next to the ſtatue of Sardus, which Callias the Athenian, and the ſon of Lyſimachides, ſays he dedicated out of the money which he acquired from the Perſian war. The Achaians too dedicated a ſtatue of Minerva, when they took an Ætolian city called Phana. As the ſiege of this city continued for no ſmall length of time, and it appeared at length impoſſible to take it, they ſent *Speculators (theoroi)* to Delphos, who brought back the following oracle: "Inhabitants of the land of Pelops, and the Achaians, you are come hither in order to inquire

by what means a city may be taken. Attend therefore to my words: Obſerve, how much thoſe that guard the walls drink every day; for by this means you ſhall take the turreted city Phana." As they were unable to comprehend the meaning of this oracle, they determined to give over the ſiege, and return home. Thoſe too within the walls made no account of the enemy; and hence, a certain woman left the walls in order to draw water from a neighbouring fountain. A band of ſoldiers however took her priſoner, and brought her to their camps. From her the Achaians learnt, that the inhabitants of the town uſed to diſtribute every night the water of that fountain to each other, and that this was the only water they had to drink. In conſequence of this information the Achaians cloſed up the fountain with earth piled over it, and by this means took the city. The Rhodians too in Lindum dedicated a ſtatue of Apollo, which ſtands near this ſtatue of Minerva. The Ambraciotæ likewiſe dedicated a brazen aſs, in conſequence of having vanquiſhed the Moloſſi in a nocturnal engagement. For the Moloſſi having laid an ambuſh for the Ambraciotæ in the night, an aſs who happened at that time to be driven from the fields to the town attacked a female of his own ſpecies with a conſiderable degree of wantonneſs. This occaſioned him to bray very loud; and the driver of the aſs at the ſame time calling to him with an indiſtinct and rough voice, produced ſuch a dread in the Moloſſi, that they immediately abandoned their enterpriſe. But the Ambraciotæ having detected their ſtratagem, attacked and vanquiſhed them in the night.

The Orneatæ, too, who form a part of the Argives, when they were vanquiſhed by the Sicyonians in battle, made

made a vow to Apollo, that if by repelling the enemy they were able to free their country from danger, they would ſend every day a ſolemn proceſſion to Delphos, and immolate a certain number of victims. However, after they had conquered the Sicyonians, and in conſequence of this ſent every day a ſolemn proceſſion to the god according to their vow, they found the expence to be prodigious, and the fatigue attending it greater than the coſt. Hence, they deviſed a ſubtle mode of accompliſhing their vow, and this was by dedicating a brazen ſacrifice and proceſſion to Apollo. Here too there is a repreſentation of the achievement of Hercules reſpecting the hydra, which was both dedicated and made by Tiſagoras. As well Hercules as the hydra is of iron. To make ſtatues indeed of iron, is a thing of the moſt difficult and laborious nature: but this work of Tiſagoras, whoever he was, is really admirable. In Pergamus likewiſe there are iron heads of a lion and a boar dedicated to Bacchus, which demand no ſmall degree of admiration. The Phocians that inhabit Elatea, being freed from the ſiege of their city by Caſſander (Olympiodorus, who was ſent by the Athenians for this purpoſe, giving them aſſiſtance), dedicated to the Delphic Apollo a brazen lion. But the ſtatue of Apollo which ſtands very near this lion, was made out of the tenth of the ſpoils which the Maſſilienſes took from the Carthaginians, when they vanquiſhed them in a naval engagement. The Ætolians dedicated here a trophy, and a ſtatue of an armed woman (viz. Ætolia); and this out of the money which they took from the Gauls, for their cruelty to the Callienſes. The golden image in this temple was dedicated by Gorgias the Leontine, and is an image of Gorgias himſelf.

CHAP. XIX.

NEAR the ſtatue of Gorgias is the Scionean Scyllis, who was renowned for being able to deſcend into the moſt profound parts of every ſea. He taught his daughter Cyana this art of diving. Both of them, therefore, when the fleet of Xerxes was toſſed about by a violent tempeſt near mount Pelion, brought deſtruction on the three-oared galleys of the Perſians, by cutting away the ropes that held the anchors, or any thing elſe that faſtened the ſhips under water. Hence, in memorial of this achievement, the Amphictyons dedicated his ſtatue, and that of his daughter. Among the ſtatues which Nero took from Delphos, was the ſtatue of Cyana. Women, while they are yet pure virgins, are ſaid to deſcend with ſafety into the ſea. But here it is proper that I ſhould relate what is reported of Leſbos. Certain Methymnæan fiſhermen drew up out of the ſea in their nets a head made from the olive-tree. This head ſeemed to have ſomething divine in its form, but ſuch as was foreign, and not agreeable to the figure of the Grecian gods. The Methymnæans, therefore, inquired of the Pythian deity of what god or hero this head was the image, and received for anſwer, that they ſhould venerate Bacchus Cephallen. Hence the Methymnæans kept the wooden head which they drew out of the ſea, venerated it with ſacrifices and prayers, and ſent a brazen image inſtead of it to Delphos. In the roof of the temple there are Diana, Latona, Apollo, the Muſes, the ſetting Sun, Bacchus, and the women who

are called Thyades. The faces of all theſe were made by the Athenian Praxias the diſciple of Calamis. For Praxias dying before the temple was finiſhed, the remaining parts of the ornaments of the roof were the work of Androſthenes, who was an Athenian, and the diſciple of Eucadmus. Golden arms are fixed on the tops of the columns. Of theſe the Athenians dedicated the ſhields, in conſequence of the victory which they gained at Marathon. The ſpoils of the Gauls which are in the back part of the temple, and on the left hand, were dedicated by the Ætolians. The form of theſe ſhields very much reſembles that of the wicker-ſhields of the Perſians, which are called *Gerrha*.

In our account of the Attic Bouleuterion, we mentioned the irruption of the Gauls into Greece; but I have thought proper in this deſcription of the Delphic affairs, to relate the particulars of this irruption more explicitly, becauſe the Greeks, in this engagement againſt the Barbarians, exerted themſelves in a moſt eminent degree. The Gauls then marched out of their own dominions the firſt time, under the command of Cambaules; and proceeding as far as to Thrace, had not the boldneſs to advance beyond it, becauſe they well knew that they were but few in number, and on this account not able to contend with the forces of the Greeks. But when they thought fit to lead a ſecond army beyond their own boundaries, thoſe that had before followed Cambaules, being incited by a deſire of gain and depredation, of which they had now taſted, collected together a great multitude of foot ſoldiers, and of horſe a conſiderable number. After this the commanders divided their army into three parts; and each part was ordered to march into a different

ferent country. Cerethrius therefore was deſtined to invade Thrace, and the nation of the Triballi. Brennus and Acichorus led thoſe that marched into Pannonia: and Bolgius was the commander of thoſe that attacked the Macedonians and Illyrians. This Bolgius fought againſt Ptolemy king of the Macedonians, who ſlew by ſtratagem Seleucus the ſon of Antiochus, whoſe protection at the ſame time he ſuppliantly implored, and who from his prodigious audacity was called *Thunder*. Ptolemy however fell in this engagement, and together with him no ſmall part of the Macedonians. But as the Gauls at that time had not the boldneſs to proceed any farther into Greece, they ſhortly after returned into their own dominions.

Brennus after this earneſtly ſolicited the general aſſemblies of the Gauls, and the principal perſons of the Gallic nation, to war upon the Greeks, who, he ſaid, were inferior to them in courage, and at that time in an imbecil condition. He likewiſe reminded them of the great wealth which the Greeks had amaſſed, of the numerous offerings in their temples, and of their gold and ſilver ornaments. By this means he perſuaded the Gauls to attack the Greeks, and joined to himſelf both other principal perſons of that nation, and Acichorus. The Gallic army, in this third expedition, conſiſted of one hundred and fifty-two thouſand foot and twenty thouſand four hundred horſe: and both horſe and foot conſiſted of valiant ſoldiers. However, the true number of theſe forces was ſixty-one thouſand two hundred. For two ſervants followed each horſeman, who were themſelves good ſoldiers, and rode on horſeback. Theſe, when their maſters were in the midſt of an engagement, ſtood in the rear of the army, and if their maſters happened to loſe their horſes

ſupplied

ſupplied them with freſh ones. When any maſter too fell, one of theſe ſervants fought in his ſtead; and if he likewiſe fell, there was a third ready to ſucceed him. If the maſter happened to be wounded, one of his ſervants immediately led him out of the field of battle, and the other filled up the place of his wounded maſter. It appears to me, that the Gauls adopted this plan in imitation of the Perſians, who always have in their armies a ſelect band of ten thouſand men whom they call the *immortals*. There is this difference however between the two, that the choſen band among the Perſians attacks the enemy in the place of thoſe that have been ſlain, after the engagement: but the Gauls order their ſelect company to ſupply the place of the dead or wounded during the engagement. This mode of fighting they call in their native tongue, Trimarciſias: for the name of a horſe with the Gauls is Marcas. With ſuch preparations, therefore, and with ſuch conceptions, Brennus marched into Greece.

CHAP. XX.

BUT the Greeks, though they were in a perfectly deſponding condition, yet were impelled by the ſtrength of fear to give the neceſſary aſſiſtance to their country. For they now clearly ſaw, that the preſent conteſt was not for liberty, as it was formerly with the Perſians; and that if they ſhould even give both land and water to the enemy, they could not hope for ſecurity in future. They called to mind too the calamities which they endured through the Barbarians, when they formerly made incurſions on the Macedonians, Thracians, and Pæonians; and had learnt

learnt from report, how injuriouſly the Gauls had treated the Theſſalians at that time. It was therefore the unanimous opinion both of individuals and cities, that they muſt either periſh, or ſubdue the enemy. Any one who is ſo diſpoſed, may eaſily enumerate thoſe Grecian cities which oppoſed Xerxes at Thermopylæ, and thoſe which took up arms againſt the Gauls. For the Greeks that marched againſt the Mede were theſe: The Lacedæmonians, who were not more than three hundred, under the command of Leonidas; five hundred of the Tegeatæ, and as many from Mantinea. One hundred and twenty Orchomenians were ſent from Arcadia: a thouſand from the other cities of Arcadia: eighty from Mycena: and two hundred from Phlius. The Corinthians ſent twice this number. There were ſeven hundred from Bœotia: and from Theſpia and Thebes four hundred. Five hundred of the Phocenſes guarded the paſſages of mount Oeta. And ſuch was the number of the forces that aſſembled on this occaſion, according to the general opinion of the Greeks. For Herodotus does not mention the number of the Locrians who live under the mountain Cnemis; but only ſays, that the Greeks aſſembled together from all their cities on this occaſion. We may however conjecture the number of theſe very near the truth. For the Athenians in the battle at Marathon oppoſed the enemy with not more than nine thouſand men, in which, thoſe whoſe age rendered them uſeleſs for the purpoſes of war, and ſervants were ranked. It follows, therefore, that the band of Locrians which came to Thermopylæ, could not at the moſt amount to more than ſix thouſand men. And hence, the whole army muſt have amounted to eleven thouſand two hundred men.

But

But it appears, that ſome of thoſe who guarded the Thermopylæ left their ſtation. For, indeed, none but the Lacedæmonians, Theſpians, and Mycenæans waited the event of the war. Again, the following Grecian cities ſent a guard to Thermopylæ againſt the Barbarians, who marched an army from the extremities of the ocean againſt Greece. The Bœotians ſent ten thouſand heavy-armed ſoldiers, and five hundred horſe. Theſe were under the command of four leaders called Bœotarchs, viz. Cephiſſodotus, Thearidas, Diogenes, and Lyſander. The Phocenſes ſent five hundred horſe, and three thouſand foot, and theſe were commanded by Critobulus and Antiochus. Midias led ſeven hundred foot ſoldiers of the Locrians near the iſland Atalanta: but theſe people had not any equeſtrian forces. Four hundred heavy-armed foot were ſent by the Megarenſes: and Megareus led the horſe of theſe people. But the forces of the Ætolians both ſurpaſſed the reſt in number, and in warlike ſkill. The number of their horſe is not known; but that of their heavy-armed foot was ſeven thouſand, and of their light-armed ninety. Theſe were commanded by Polyarchus, Polyphron, and Lacrates. Calippus the ſon of Moerocles led the forces of the Athenians, as I have before ſhewn. Theſe forces conſiſted in the firſt place of all the three-oared galleys which could be procured; in the next place of five hundred horſe; and in the third place of a thouſand foot. The Athenians too, on account of their ancient dignity, had the command of all theſe forces.

Kings too ſent mercenary troops: and of theſe five hundred came from Macedonia, and as many from Aſia. Ariſtodemus the Macedonian was ſent as a commander of the auxiliary forces, by king Antigonus; and Teleſarchus,

chus, who belonged to the Syrians near the river Orontes, was ſent as a commander by Antiochus from Aſia. Theſe forces being aſſembled at Thermopylæ, as ſoon as it was known that the army of the Gauls had fixed their camps in the borders of Magneſia and Phthiotis, they ſent a thouſand light-armed ſoldiers, and a choſen body of horſe to the river Sperchius, that the Barbarians might not paſs over the river without fighting their way, and being expoſed to the danger of a defeat. Theſe forces, therefore, when they came to the Sperchius, deſtroyed the bridges which the Gauls had raiſed on it, and fixed their camps on the banks of the river. Brennus, indeed, was not unſkilled in warlike affairs, but for a Barbarian ſufficiently acute, and experienced in the ſtratagems of war. On the following night, therefore, leaving that part of the river on which he had raiſed the bridges, he ſent ten thouſand ſoldiers, who were ſkilled in ſwimming, and remarkably tall (for the Gauls in general ſurpaſs other men in ſtature) to the lower parts of the river, that the Greeks might not perceive them as they were paſſing over; and beſides this, he knew that the river in this part ſpread itſelf widely over the plains, and produced a marſh and lake inſtead of a ſtrong and narrow ſtream. In the night, therefore, his forces ſwam over the marſhy part of the river, ſome of them uſing their ſhields, which they call *thureoi*, for rafts, while others, who were taller than the reſt, waded through with their feet. The Greeks on the banks of the Sperchius, as ſoon as they underſtood that the Barbarians had paſſed over the marſhy part of the river, immediately marched back to their army.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXI.

BRENNUS after this ordered the inhabitants near the bay of Maliacus to join the Sperchius by a bridge. This they accompliſhed with great celerity, both through fear of Brennus, and through the deſire of haſtening the departure of the Barbarians, as there was reaſon to expect they would greatly injure them if they ſtaid long in theſe parts. Brennus, therefore, as ſoon as he had paſſed over the river by bridges, led his army to Heraclea, depopulated the country, and ſlew the men that he found in the fields. He did not however take the city, becauſe in the year prior to this event, the Ætolians compelled the Heracleotæ to become a part of their dominions, and in conſequence of this defended their city at that time with great alacrity, conſidering it as a place which belonged to themſelves as much as to the Heracleotæ. But Brennus did not beſtow much pains in endeavouring to take this city, but employed himſelf principally in taking care to prevent thoſe who guarded the walls of Heraclea, from hindering his march to that part of Greece which is within Thermopylæ. Leaving therefore Heraclea, and learning from certain fugitives the number of the forces which had aſſembled from the ſeveral cities of Greece, he deſpiſed the Grecian army, and determined to come to an engagement on the following day at ſun-riſe; *neither employing any Grecian prophet, nor performing any of the ſacred ceremonies of his own country*, if, indeed, the Gauls knew any thing of the divining art. The Greeks drew

drew up in order of battle with ſilence and great regularity. And when the two armies came to a cloſe engagement, the Grecian foot ran ſo far beyond their ſtation, that they cauſed confuſion in their own phalanx; but the light-armed troops remaining in their proper ranks, diſcharged at the enemy their darts, arrows, and ſlings.

The horſe in each army was perfectly uſeleſs, and this not only through the narrow paſſages of the mountain, which they call gates, but through the ſmoothneſs and ſlipperineſs of the ground, from its rocky nature, and from frequent and abundant inundations of rivers. The armour of the Gauls too was inferior in ſtrength to that of the Greeks; for they had no other defence for their bodies than thoſe ſhields which they call *thureoi*; and what was of ſtill greater conſequence, the Gauls were far inferior in military experience to their enemies. However, in battle they ruſhed on the Greeks with a degree of anger and fury reſembling the attacks of wild beaſts; ſo that their rage, while life remained, ſuffered no abatement, though they were maimed by the battle-ax, cut down with the ſword, or pierced with arrows and darts. Some of them, too, when wounded, ſent back the darts which they tore from their wounds on the Greeks, or pierced with theſe darts the Greeks that ſtood near them. In the mean time the three-oared galleys of the Athenians could ſcarcely, and not without danger, diſcharge their miſſive weapons of every kind at the enemy, owing to their ſailing through mud, becauſe the river was at a great diſtance from the ſea, and being obliged to bring their veſſels very near the Barbarians. But the Gauls being wearied in a ſtill greater degree than the Greeks, becauſe in thoſe narrow paſſages they were unable to accompliſh

any

any thing of importance, and ſuffering every inconvenience, were ordered by their commanders to retreat to their camps. This they began to put in execution in a very diſordered and tumultuous manner, many of them ruſhing againſt each other; and many falling into the marſh, and diſappearing, abſorbed by the mud; ſo that they ſuffered no leſs a loſs in retreating, than in the vigour of the engagement.

On that day the valour of the Athenians tranſcended that of the other Greeks: and of the Athenians, Cydias, who was quite a youth, and who had never been in an engagement before, gave ſpecimens of ſuperior courage. This youth being ſlain by the Gauls, his kindred dedicated his ſhield to Jupiter the Liberator with this inſcription:

"This ſhield to Jove now ſacred, yet deſires
The blooming youth of Cydias fam'd:
On his left arm this ſhield he bravely fix'd,
When Mars impetuous tam'd the Gauls."

This inſcription remained till the ſoldiers of Sylla took the ſhield from the porch of Jupiter the Liberator, together with other offerings of the Athenians. And ſuch was the battle at the Thermopylæ. But on the next day the Greeks buried their dead, and took away the armour of the Barbarians that fell in the engagement. The Gauls, however, did not demand any truce that they might bury their dead; and plainly evinced, that they conſidered it as a matter of no conſequence, whether the bodies of the ſlain were buried in the ground, or torn in pieces by ſuch wild beaſts and birds, as fight with each other for the bodies of the dead. It appears to me, that a twofold reaſon may be aſſigned, why they are thus careleſs as to

the interment of the ſlain; a deſire of terrifying their enemies by this ſpecimen of their ferocity; and their want of commiſeration for the dead. In this engagement forty of the Greeks fell, but the number of the Barbarians that were ſlain cannot be accurately aſcertained, becauſe many of them were ſwallowed up in the mud.

CHAP. XXII.

ON the ſeventh day after the battle, a part of the Gallic army endeavoured to aſcend the mountain Oeta, in that part of it which is near Heraclea. But the path here was very narrow, beyond which were the ruins of Trachis; and beyond Trachis there was a temple of Minerva, which contained ſacred offerings. The Gauls however hoped they ſhould be able to aſcend Oeta through this narrow path, and at the ſame time plunder the temple of Minerva. That guard, however, which was under the command of Teleſarchus vanquiſhed the Barbarians, though Teleſarchus himſelf fell in the engagement, a man remarkably zealous in the cauſe of Greece. But when the other commanders of the Barbarians were terrified by the valour of the Greeks, and began to deſpair of ſucceſs in future, as they ſaw that all their preſent undertakings were adverſe, Brennus conſidered that, if he could but force the Ætolians to return home, he ſhould eaſily finiſh his war on the Greeks. Having therefore choſen forty thouſand foot and eight hundred horſe out of his whole army, he gave the command of theſe forces to Oreſtorius and Combutis, and ordered them firſt of all to paſs into

Theſſaly over the bridges of the Sperchius, and afterwards invade Ætolia. *Theſe two commanders, Oreſtorius and Combutis, acted towards the Callienſes in a manner the moſt impious we ever heard of, and at the ſame time in no reſpect ſimilar to the daring wickedneſs of men. For they ſlew all the males in the city, young as well as old, together with infants at their mothers' breaſts; and drank the blood and ate the fleſh of ſuch infants as the nutriment of milk had rendered in a more thriving condition. On this occaſion, ſuch women and virgins in the flower of their age, as were of a ſuperior courage, deſtroyed themſelves; but the Barbarians treated ſuch as ſurvived with the utmoſt inſolence and violence, as being a nation naturally incapable of pity, and averſe to love.*

Many indeed of theſe women voluntarily ruſhed on the ſwords of the Gauls. Others again, not long after, died through hunger and wakefulneſs, in conſequence of the inſolence and violence of the Barbarians, who ſometimes ſatisfied their luſt on the bodies of the dying, and ſometimes on the bodies of the dead. But the Ætolians having learnt from certain meſſengers the calamities which had befallen their country, immediately with all poſſible celerity led back their forces from Thermopylæ to Ætolia; being enraged at the ſufferings of the Callienſes, and deſiring to ſave thoſe cities which had not yet experienced the fury of the barbarous enemy. All that were of an age capable of bearing arms came into the camps of the Ætolians from all their cities; and with theſe old men were mingled, who were impelled both by neceſſity and their priſtine courage. The women, too, who were more enraged againſt the Gauls than the men, voluntarily took arms againſt them. But the Barbarians, as ſoon as

they had plundered the houſes and temples, and had ſet the city Callion on fire, returned the ſame way as they came to their own people; and the Patrenſes alone of all the Achaians, that aſſiſted the Ætolians, oppoſed the Barbarians with their armed forces, in the uſe of which they were very ſkilful. However, they were greatly oppreſſed, both by the multitude of the Gauls, and deſpair of ſucceſs. But then the Ætolians both men and women, placing themſelves in every part of the road, pierced the Gauls with their darts, which it was no difficult matter to accompliſh, becauſe the Barbarians had no other defence than that of their *thureoi*. At the ſame time they eaſily avoided the Gauls when they were purſued by them, and, when the Gauls abandoned the purſuit, again eagerly attacked them. Indeed, the Callienſes, though the injuries which they ſuſtained from the Gauls were ſo great, that what Homer aſſerts of the Læſtrygons and Cyclops ought not to be reckoned fabulous, were at the ſame time juſtly revenged on their enemies. For out of that great multitude of Gauls, which amounted to forty thouſand eight hundred men, ſcarcely the half eſcaped to the camps at Thermopylæ.

But the tranſactions of the Greeks at Thermopylæ at the ſame time were as follow: There are two paths through the mountain Oeta: one of theſe, which is above Trachis, is very craggy and ſteep; but the other, which is through Ænianæ, may be eaſily paſſed by foot ſoldiers. It was through this that the Mede Hydarnes once led his forces, and came behind the Greeks that were commanded by Leonidas. They underſtood that the Heracleotæ and Ænianæ were leading Brennus through this path, not from any malevolence to the Greeks, but in conſequence of being convinced that it would be a great undertaking,

if

if they could induce the Barbarians to leave their country before it was ruined. Hence, Pindar appears to me to have ſpoken truly, when he ſays, that every one feels the weight of his own calamities, but is not affected with the ſufferings of others. At that time, therefore, the promiſe of the Ænianæ and Heracleotæ rouſed the courage of Brennus, who leaving Acichorius in his camps, and informing him that it would be proper for him to attack the enemy, when he was certain that he was aſſaulting them behind with a choſen band of forty thouſand men, marched through the mountain Oeta. It happened, however, on that day, that the mountain was covered with ſuch a thick miſt, that the ſun was darkened, ſo that the Phocenſes, who guarded that paſſage of the mountain, did not perceive the Barbarians till they were quite near them. Hence, ſome began to engage the Gauls, and others ſtrenuouſly ſuſtained their attacks; but being at length vanquiſhed, they were compelled to abandon their poſt. With great celerity, therefore, before Greece was entirely ſurrounded by the Gauls, they returned to their allies, and informed them of the impending danger. The Athenians, immediately on this information, received into their galleys the Grecian forces at Thermopylæ, who afterwards returned to their reſpective countries.

CHAP. XXIII.

BUT Brennus, waiting no longer than till Acichorius with his forces came from the camp, marched as ſoon as he joined him to Delphos. The inhabitants on this occaſion fled to the oracle: and the god ordered them to

lay aſide their fear, and promiſed them that he would defend his own. The Grecian cities that fought on this occaſion in order to take vengeance on the enemies of the god were theſe: The Phocenſes from all their cities; four hundred heavy-armed ſoldiers from Amphiſſa. From the Ætolians, a few only aſſembled at firſt, when they were told of the march of the Barbarians, but afterwards Philomelus led one thouſand two hundred. Of the Ætolians, ſuch as were the moſt vigorous turned themſelves to the army of Acichorius. They did not however come to any engagement with the Gauls, but moleſted the rear of their army as they were marching, plundered their baggage, and ſlew thoſe that defended it. And by this means the march of the Barbarians was impeded. But Acichorius left a part of his forces at Heraclea, for the purpoſe of defending the riches in his camp. The army of Brennus, therefore, was oppoſed by the Greeks that aſſembled together at Delphos. And the god at this time ſhewed that he was adverſe to the Barbarians, by prodigies the moſt conſpicuous of any that we are acquainted with. For all that part of the earth which was occupied by the army of the Gauls, was violently ſhaken for the greater part of the day, and this was accompanied with continued thunder and lightning. The Gauls in conſequence of this were greatly terrified, and rendered incapable of hearing the orders of their commanders. The lightning too that deſtroyed any individual, burnt at the ſame time thoſe that were near him, together with their arms. Beſides all this, the ſpectres of heroes were then ſeen—Hyperochus, Laodocus, and Pyrrhus; and the fourth of theſe, according to the Delphi, was Phylacus, who was a native of their city.

In

In this engagement, however, many of the Phocenſes fell, and among theſe Aleximachus, who in the vigour of his age, the ſtrength of his body, and the ardour of his zeal, ſurpaſſed all the Greeks. The Phocenſes afterwards ſent his image to Apollo at Delphos. And ſuch was the terror and ſlaughter to which the Gauls were expoſed in the day-time; but during the night they ſuffered ſtill more ſeverely. For the weather was vehemently cold, and this was accompanied with ſnow. Large ſtones, too, and fragments of rocks torn from Parnaſſus, fell on the Barbarians, as the deſtined mark at which they aimed. Nor was it only one or two that died by this means; but thirty, or ſtill more, as they ſtood upon guard or ſlept in the ſame place, were at once daſhed in pieces by the falling rocks. As ſoon as it was day too the Greeks poured out of Delphos: and of theſe ſome marched in a direct line to the army of the enemy; but the Phocenſes, as being better acquainted with the nature of the place, deſcended through the ſnow down the precipices of Parnaſſus, and, attacking the Gauls behind, pierced the Barbarians with their darts and arrows in perfect ſecurity. But when the two armies began to engage, the ſoldiers about Brennus, as they were the talleſt and ſtrongeſt of the Gauls, vigorouſly reſiſted the Greeks; and though darts were hurled at them on all ſides, and they ſuffered greatly by the cold, eſpecially ſuch as were wounded, yet they ſtood their ground, till Brennus, through ſome wounds which he had received, was carried out of the battle on the point of expiring. For then the Barbarians being preſſed on every ſide by the Greeks, were forced unwillingly to retreat, and ſlew thoſe of their own party, who

through the wounds and weakneſs of their bodies were unable to follow them.

The Gauls too were obliged to fix their camps in that place where the night came upon them during their flight: and in the night they were ſeized with a panic terror. For dread which is produced from no apparent cauſe, is ſaid to be ſent by Pan. This terror ſeized the army of the Barbarians about midnight: and at firſt a few of them were agitated with ſuch irrational fear, that they ſeemed to themſelves to hear the ſound of horſes advancing towards them, and to perceive the approach of the enemy. Not long after the whole army was infected with the ſame ſtupid fear. In conſequence of this they haſtily took up their arms; and a diſagreement ariſing among them, they mutually ſlew each other, through the darkneſs of the night, and their inſane terror, neither underſtanding their native language, nor recognizing the countenances of each other, nor the figure of their ſhields; but each party fancied that the troops which it oppoſed were Greeks, and that the arms which they ſaw, and the voices which they heard, were Grecian. And this inſanity, which was ſent by divinity, cauſed a great multitude of the Gauls to ſlaughter each other. This maſſacre too was firſt of all perceived by thoſe Phocenſes who were left in the fields to guard the cattle; and the Greeks were informed by theſe of what had happened to the Barbarians in the night. The courage of the Phocenſes, therefore, being rouſed by this intelligence, they ruſhed with greater alacrity on the Gauls, placed a ſtronger guard over their cattle, and were careful that no proviſion ſhould be taken from their fields without an engagement enſuing. In conſequence

ſequence of this, the whole army of the Gauls laboured under an extreme want of corn and every kind of nutriment.

But the multitude of the Gauls that died in Phocis in battle was not much leſs than ſix thouſand: thoſe that were deſtroyed by cold in the night, and afterwards by panic terror, were more than ten thouſand; and a like number periſhed by famine. And this information reſpecting the Gauls, was obtained by means of men who were ſent by the Athenians to conſult the Delphic oracle. The Bœotians likewiſe joined themſelves to thoſe Athenians, who having moved their camps, marched through Bœotia: and both theſe following the Barbarians, perpetually cut off by ſtratagem thoſe that were in the rear of their army. The forces of Acichorius were not able to join thoſe that fled with Brennus till the night preceding their flight. For the Ætolians, by continually infeſting them with their darts, and every kind of miſſive weapon that came to hand, rendered their march ſlow: and hence, no great multitude of them eſcaped to the camp near Heraclea. With reſpect to Brennus, there was reaſon to hope that he would not die of his wound: but they ſay, that through fear of his fellow citizens, and ſtill more through ſhame that he had been the cauſe of the Gauls ſuffering ſuch calamities in Greece, he voluntarily deſtroyed himſelf by drinking pure wine. After his death, the Barbarians with great difficulty reached the river Sperchius, in conſequence of the violent manner in which they were attacked by the Ætolians. And when they arrived at the Sperchius, the Theſſalians and Malienſes made ſuch a ſlaughter of them, that not one was left to return home. This war of the Gauls againſt the Greeks,

Greeks, and the deſtruction of them which enſued in conſequence of it, happened when Anaxicrates was the Athenian archon, and in the ſecond year of the one hundred and twenty-fifth Olympiad, in which Ladas Ægienſis conquered in the ſtadium. But in the following year, in which Democles was the Athenian archon, the Gauls again paſſed over into Aſia. And ſuch is the genuine account of the particulars of this war.

CHAP. XXIV.

IN the veſtibule of the Delphic temple, precepts uſeful to the conduct of human life are written. Theſe were compoſed by men who are called wiſe by the Greeks, viz. from Ionia, by Thales the Mileſian, and Bias Prienenſis: from the Æolians in Leſbos, Pittacus the Mitylenæan: from the Dorians in Aſia, Cleobulus the Lindian: beſides theſe, Solon the Athenian, and Chilon the Spartan: and for the ſeventh, Myſon the Chenean enumerates Plato the ſon of Ariſton, inſtead of Periander the ſon of Cypſelus. Formerly the village Chenæ in the mountain Oeta was inhabited. Theſe wiſe men therefore coming to Delphos, dedicated to Apollo thoſe celebrated ſentences, *Know thyſelf*, and *Nothing immoderately*: and theſe ſentences they wrote in the veſtibule of the temple. You may ſee too here a brazen ſtatue of Homer on a pillar; and on it the following oracle of Apollo reſpecting Homer is inſcribed: "Bleſſed and unfortunate; for thou art born to each of theſe. Enquire after thy country; for thou haſt a maternal, but not a paternal land. The iſland Ios is thy mother's country, which

which ſhall receive thee when dead. But guard againſt the ænigma of boys." The Ietæ too ſhew the ſepulchre of Homer in the iſland, and in a ſeparate place the tomb of Clymene, who, they ſay, was the mother of Homer. The Cyprians, however, for they contend that Homer was born among them, ſay that his mother was Themiſto, a native of their country: but Euclus thus propheſies concerning his origin: "Then in the ſea-girt Cyprus a mighty poet ſhall ariſe, whom the divine Themiſto ſhall bring forth in the wealthy fields of Salamis. But he departing from Cyprus, and ſailing on the deep, ſhall ſing the firſt of all men the calamities of ſpacious Greece, and ſhall be himſelf immortal, and free from the depredations of age."

This account of Homer I have given in conſequence of what I have heard from others, and from what I have read in oracles: for I have written nothing which is the reſult of my own opinion, either concerning his country or age. In the temple itſelf there is an altar of Neptune, becauſe the moſt ancient oracle was the property of this god. There are likewiſe two ſtatues of the Parcæ; but Jupiter *Moiragetes*, or *the leader of the Fates*, is dedicated inſtead of the third of the Parcæ. Apollo Moiragetes too ſtands near them. You may alſo ſee here a hearth, upon which the prieſt of Apollo ſlew Neoptolemus the ſon of Achilles, of whoſe death I have elſewhere made mention. Not far from hence there is a throne of Pindar, upon which, they ſay, Pindar ſat whenever he came to Delphos, and ſang the verſes which he compoſed in honour of Apollo. In the moſt inward part of the temple, into which but few are admitted, there is another golden ſtatue of Apollo. On leaving the temple, and turning

turning to the left hand, you will ſee an incloſure, which contains the tomb of Neoptolemus the ſon of Achilles, to whom the Delphi perform funeral ſacrifices every year. On aſcending from this monument, you will ſee a ſtone of a moderate ſize. This they anoint with oil every day, and during every feſtival cover it with new-ſhorn wool. They are of opinion reſpecting this ſtone, that it was given to Saturn as a ſubſtitute for the infant Jupiter, and that he afterwards threw it up by a vomit. On leaving this ſtone, and directing your courſe as if back again to the temple, you will ſee a fountain which is called Caſſotis. There is a wall of a moderate ſize before it: and through the wall there is a paſſage of aſcent to the fountain. They ſay, that the water of this fountain merges itſelf in the earth, and cauſes the women in the adytum of the god to poſſeſs prophetic powers. They add, that the fountain was denominated from one of the nymphs about Parnaſſus.

CHAP. XXV.

BEYOND the fountain Caſſotis there is a building which contains the pictures of Polygnotus, which were dedicated by the Gnidians. The Delphi call this building *Leſche*: becauſe formerly men uſed to diſcuſs ſerious and trifling affairs in it. Homer, in the abuſive ſpeech of Melantho to Ulyſſes, evinces that there were many ſuch places in every part of Greece:

> "Hence to the *Leſche*, from the midnight air,
> Or ſome black forge the vagrant's haunt repair."

On entering this building, you will ſee on the left hand of the

the wall the ſubverſion of Troy, and the Greeks ſailing to their native land. Menelaus too is repreſented on board his ſhip preparing to depart from Troy; and in the ſhip boys and men are ſeen ſtanding together. In the middle of the ſhip the pilot Phrontis is repreſented diſtributing the *contoi*, or *bargemen's poles*. Homer, indeed, among other things which he makes Neſtor ſay to Telemachus, repreſents him aſſerting of Phrontis, that he was the ſon of Oneſtor, that he was the pilot of Menelaus, that he was moſt ſkilful in his art, and that he died when they had ſailed beyond the promontory Sunium in the Attic land. Neſtor too relates, that Menelaus ſailed with him to that place, and that he ſtaid there till they had raiſed a tomb, and performed ſuch funeral honours as are uſually paid to the dead. Menelaus therefore is painted in this picture. Beneath him Ithæmenes is painted, carrying a certain garment, together with Echocax deſcending by a naval ladder to the ſea with a brazen urn. Polites, Strophius, and Alphius are repreſented taking down the tent of Menelaus, which is not far from the ſhip; and Amphialus is ſeen taking down another tent.

A boy ſits at the feet of Amphialus; but there is no inſcription on him. Phrontis is the only perſon in this group that has a beard; and Polygnotus learnt his name alone from the Odyſſey; for it appears to me, that the other names are his own invention. Briſeis too is repreſented in this picture; above her ſtands Diomed, and near both of them Iphis; and they are in the attitude of perſons admiring the form of Helen. Helen herſelf is ſeated; and near her ſtands Eurybates, who, as we may conjecture, was the herald of Ulyſſes. He is however without a beard. There are beſides two maid ſervants, Electra

and

and Panthalis, the latter of whom ſtands by Helen, and the former is repreſented faſtening the ſhoes of her miſtreſs. Theſe names too are different from thoſe which are adopted by Homer in the Iliad, where he deſcribes Helen and her maids on the walls of Troy. A man clothed in purple, and extremely ſorrowful, ſits above Helen: and before you read the inſcription, you may eaſily conjecture that this is Helenus. Near Helenus Meges ſtands. His arm is wounded, agreeably to the account given of him by Leſcheus Pyrrhæus, the ſon of Æſchylenus, in his poem on the deſtruction of Troy. This Leſcheus informs us, that he was wounded by the Argive Admetus in that battle which the Trojans fought in the night. Lycomedes the ſon of Creon ſtands near Meges. He is repreſented wounded in the wriſt: and, according to Leſcheus, he received this wound from Agenor. It is evident, therefore, that Polygnotus would not have painted him in this manner, unleſs he had read the poetical compoſitions of Leſcheus. Lycomedes likewiſe received two wounds beſides this, one in the foot, and the other in the head: and theſe Polygnotus has repreſented in the picture. Euryalus, too, the ſon of Meciſteus, appears with two wounds, one in the head, and the other in the wriſt. All theſe are above Helen in the picture. After Helen, Æthra the mother of Theſeus is painted, with her hair ſhaven off to her ſkin; together with Demophon the ſon of Theſeus, who is repreſented conſidering whether it is poſſible for him to ſave Æthra. The Argives ſay, that Melanippus was the ſon of Theſeus by the daughter of Synnis, and that he conquered in the race, when thoſe who are called the Epigonoi eſtabliſhed the ſecond Nemean games after Adraſtus.

Leſcheus

Leſcheus relates in his verſes, that when Troy was taken, Æthra eſcaped, and came to the camps of the Greeks; that ſhe was there known by the ſons of Theſeus, and that Demophon requeſted her in marriage of Agamemnon. That he indeed was willing to gratify Demophon, but that he ſaid he would not accompliſh their deſires, till he had gained the conſent of Helen. A herald therefore being ſent to Helen, found her diſpoſed to the match. Hence, in the picture, Eurybates appears addreſſing Helen on account of Æthra, and delivering to her the meſſage of Agamemnon. Trojan women too are repreſented in this picture in the habit of mourning captives. The firſt of theſe is Andromache with an infant at her breaſt. Leſcheus ſays, that this infant was thrown from a tower, not indeed by the decree of the Greeks, but through the private hatred of Neoptolemus, who ordered him to be put to death. Medeſicaſte likewiſe is painted here, who was one of the baſtard daughters of Priam, who, according to Homer, dwelt in the city Pedæum, and was married to Imbrius the ſon of Mentor. Andromache and Medeſicaſte are veiled: but Polyxena is painted with her hair plaited after the manner of virgins. Poets ſing, and the pictures which I have ſeen at Athens, and Pergamus which is a city above Caicus, in which the calamities of Polyxena are painted, evince, that ſhe was ſlain at the tomb of Achilles. Polygnotus too has painted in the ſame picture, Neſtor with a hat on his head, and a ſpear in his hand. A horſe rolling in the duſt is ſeen near him. The ground on which the horſe lies is the ſea ſhore; and the pebbles on the ſhore are repreſented. The remaining part of the ground does not appear to reſemble the ſea ſhore.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVI.

ABOVE thoſe women which are between Æthra and Neſtor, other captives are painted, viz. Clymene, Creuſa, Ariſtomache, and Xenodice. Steſichorus, in his poem on the deſtruction of Troy, ranks Clymene among the captives. In a ſimilar manner the poet Ennus ſays, that Ariſtomache was the daughter of Priam, and that ſhe was married to Critolaus the ſon of Icetaon. But I do not know of any poet, or proſe writer, that makes mention of Xenodice. It is ſaid of Creuſa, that ſhe was taken from the Greeks, and reſtored to liberty by the Mother of the Gods and Venus, and that ſhe was the wife of Æneas. Leſcheus, however, and the author of the Cyprian verſes, ſay that Eurydice was the wife of Æneas. Above theſe Deinomoe, Metioche, Piſis, and Cleodice are painted reclining on a bed. The name of one of theſe only is mentioned in the poem called *the Small Iliad:* and it appears to me, that Polygnotus invented the other names. Here too Epeus is painted, throwing down the walls of Troy from their foundations. And the only thing above theſe is the head of the horſe Durateus. Polypoetes likewiſe the ſon of Pirithous is painted, having his head bound with a fillet. Acamas the ſon of Theſeus ſtands by him with a helmet on his head, and a creſt on the helmet. Ulyſſes too is preſent, and is inveſted with a coat of mail. Ajax the ſon of Oileus approaches with a ſhield to the altar, in order to ſwear before he offers violence to Caſſandra. But Caſſandra ſits on the ground,

ground, holding the wooden image of Minerva, which ſhe tore from its baſis, when Ajax drew her from her ſupplications at the altar. The ſons of Atreus likewiſe are painted with helmets on their heads. But on the ſhield of Menelaus there is a dragon, viz. the one that appeared as an omen during the ſacrifice at Aulis. Theſe adminiſter the oath to Ajax. Oppoſite to the horſe, Neoptolemus is beheld near Neſtor, ſlaying Elaſſus. This Elaſſus, whoever he was, reſembles a man nearly expiring. Neoptolemus too ſtrikes with his ſword Aſtynous, who has fallen on his knees, and who is mentioned by Leſcheus. Polygnotus, indeed, is the only one of the Greeks that has repreſented Neoptolemus ſtill continuing to ſlay the Trojans; and his deſign in this was, that the whole picture might correſpond to the tomb of Neoptolemus. Homer, indeed, every where calls Neoptolemus the ſon of Achilles; but the Cyprian verſes teſtify that he was called Pyrrhus by Lycomedes, and that the name of Neoptolemus was given to him by Phœnix, becauſe Achilles was very young when he firſt engaged in war.

An altar too is painted here, and a little boy embracing the altar through fear. On the altar there is a brazen coat of mail. At preſent the ſhape of ſuch coats of mail as this is very rare; but they were uſed in former times. In this coat of mail there are two pieces of braſs, one of which ſerves to faſten it to the breaſt, and the parts about the belly, and the other defends the back: the anterior part of this coat of mail they call *gualon*, and the hinder part *proſegon*. It appears too to be a ſufficient defence for the body without a ſhield. On this account, Homer repreſents the Phrygian Phorcys fighting without a ſhield, becauſe he uſed a *gualothorax*, or *hollow coat of mail*. I be-

held the image of this coat of mail in the picture of Polygnotus. And in the temple of Ephesian Diana, Calliphon the Samian has painted certain women adapting the hollow parts of a coat of mail to Patroclus. Polygnotus likewise has painted in this picture Laodice standing beyond the altar. I do not know of any poet that has mentioned her among the Trojan captives; and it appears to me very probable that she was dismissed by the Greeks. Homer, indeed, in the Iliad, evinces that Menelaus and Ulysses were entertained by Antenor, and that Laodice was married to Helicaon the son of Antenor. Lescheus asserts, that Helicaon being wounded in the nocturnal engagement, was known by Ulysses, and freed from the danger of the fight. It may therefore be easily believed, that neither Agamemnon nor Menelaus would act in an hostile manner towards the wife of Helicaon. However, Eupherion Chalcidensis asserts things respecting Laodice, which are utterly void of probability. After Laodice there is a stone prop, on which there is a brazen laver. Medusa sits on the ground, holding this prop with both her hands. Any one may rank Medusa among the daughters of Priam, who has read the ode of Himeræus. Near Medusa there is an old woman with her hair shaven to the skin; or perhaps this may be an eunuch. She holds a naked infant on her knees: and the infant is represented holding his hand before his eyes, through fear.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVII.

WITH reſpect to the dead bodies in the picture, one of them is Pelis, who is naked, and is thrown on his ſide. Beneath him Eioneus and Admetus lie, having on their coats of mail. Leſcheus informs us, that Eioneus was ſlain by Neoptolemus, and Admetus by Philoctetes. Above theſe there are other dead bodies. Under the laver Leocritus the ſon of Polydamas lies, who was ſlain by Ulyſſes. Above Eioneus and Admetus is Corœbus the ſon of Mygdon. There is a noble monument of this Mygdon in the borders of the Ectorean Phrygians: and from him poets denominate the Phrygians, Mygdonians. Corœbus came to the wedding of Caſſandra; and, according to general report, was ſlain by Neoptolemus. Leſcheus ſays that he was ſlain by Diomed. Above Corœbus are Priam, Axion, and Agenor. Leſcheus informs us, that Priam was not ſlain at the altar of Hercean Jupiter, but being dragged from the altar was beheaded by Neoptolemus, when he met him before the doors of the palace. With reſpect to Hecuba, Steſichorus, in his poem on the deſtruction of Troy, ſays that ſhe was tranſported by Apollo to Lycia. But Leſcheus ſays, that Axion was the ſon of Priam, and that he was ſlain by Eurypylus the ſon of Euæmon. The ſame poet too aſſerts that Neoptolemus ſlew Agenor. And hence it appears, that Echeclus the ſon of Agenor was ſlain by Achilles, and Agenor himſelf by Neoptolemus. Sinon the companion of Ulyſſes and Anchialus are carrying out the dead body of Laomedon. Another dead body is painted here, whoſe name is Ereſus. I do not

know of any poet that has mentioned Ereſus and Laomedon in his verſes. Here too the houſe of Antenor is repreſented; and over the veſtibule of it the ſkin of a leopard is ſuſpended, This was hung up as a ſignal to the Greeks, that they ſhould not injure the houſe of Antenor. Theano likewiſe is painted with her ſons. One of theſe, Glaucus, ſits on a coat of mail joined together with hollow parts; and Eurymachus ſits on a ſtone. Near him ſtands Antenor, and after him follows Crino the daughter of Antenor. She holds in her arms an infant boy. All theſe are painted with ſorrowful countenances. Servants are placing a cheſt and other furniture on an aſs: and a little boy ſits on the aſs. In this part of the picture there is the following elegy of Simonides:

The artiſt Polygnotus, for his ſire
Who claims Aglaophon, in Thaſus born,
Painted the captur'd tower of Troy.

CHAP. XXVIII.

THE other part of the picture, which is on the left hand, repreſents Ulyſſes deſcending to Hades, that he may conſult the ſoul of Tireſias about his ſafe return to his native country. The particulars of the painting are as follow:—A river preſents itſelf to the view, which is evidently Acheron. Reeds are ſeen in this river, and fiſhes whoſe forms are ſo obſcure that you might conjecture they were rather ſhadows than fiſhes. There is a ſhip too in this river, and a ferryman ſtanding by its oars. Polygnotus, as it appears to me, in this part of the picture had an eye to the

the poem called Minyas, in which there are the following verſes upon Theſeus and Pirithous:

"Old Charon in his veſſel fill'd with ſhades
Refus'd theſe living heroes to admit."

Hence Polygnotus has repreſented Charon as an old man. The perſons in this veſſel cannot be very clearly diſcerned. However, Tellis, who is very young, is among theſe, and Cleoboea as yet a virgin. On her knees ſhe ſupports a ciſta, or cheſt, reſembling ſuch as are uſed in the ſolemn feſtivals of Ceres. With reſpect to Tellis, I have only heard thus much, that the poet Archilochus was his great grandſon. They ſay that Cleobœa was the firſt that brought the myſteries of Ceres from the iſland Paros to Thaſus. On the banks of Acheron, an affair is repreſented, which deſerves to be particularly noticed. A little below Charon, a ſon who had behaved unjuſtly to his father, is ſtrangled by his father. For the ancients very much reverenced their parents, as may be inferred from other examples, and from the actions of thoſe in Catana, who are called *the pious*. For when this city was ſet on fire by mount Ætna, theſe paid no attention to the preſervation of their ſilver and gold, but one of them took up his father in his arms, and the other his mother, and fled with them out of the city. Through the rapid fury however of the fire, they found great difficulty in making their eſcape; yet notwithſtanding this, they did not leave their parents, but paſſed through the ſtream of fire, which, as they ſay, ſeparated itſelf into two parts, and neither injured them nor their parents. Theſe youths are even at preſent honoured by the Catanæans.

In this picture of Polygnotus, near the man who injured his father, and is on this account puniſhed in Hades, there

is a man ſuffering puniſhment for ſacrilege. A woman well acquainted with poiſons, and other inſtruments of puniſhment, is repreſented tormenting him. Men therefore at that time were remarkably pious towards the gods: and this the Athenians evinced when they took the temple of Olympian Jupiter among the Syracuſans; for they did not move any of the ſacred offerings, and ſuffered the Syracuſan prieſt who guarded the offerings ſtill to continue his office. This too the Mede Datis evinced: for having found a ſtatue of Apollo in a Phœnician ſhip, he immediately gave it to the Tanagræans to be carried back to Delium. So that at that time all men venerated a divine nature; and Polygnotus well knowing this, painted the man ſuffering in Hades for ſacrilege. Above thoſe which we have now enumerated is Eurynomus, who, according to the Delphic interpreters of ſacred concerns, is one of the dæmons belonging to Hades, and who eats the fleſh of dead bodies, ſo as to leave the bones quite bare. However, neither Homer in the Odyſſey, nor the poetical compoſition which is called Minyæ, nor the verſes which are denominated *Noſtoi*, or *the Return* (for in theſe there is an account of Hades and its terrors), make any mention of the dæmon Eurynomus. I ſhall therefore deſcribe the figure of Eurynomus as he appears in this picture. His colour is between azure and black, and is like that of flies which infeſt meat. He ſhews his teeth, and ſits on the ſkin of a vulture. Auge and Iphimedea from Arcadia preſent themſelves to the view after Eurynomus. Auge came to Myſia, which is near Teuthras, and is ſaid to have brought forth a ſon the moſt like his father, of all the women with which Hercules was connected. But the Carians in Myleſſæ pay great honours to Iphimedea.

CHAP. XXIX.

ABOVE thoſe which I have now numerated, this picture contains a repreſentation of the companions of Ulyſſes, Perimedes and Eurylochus, carrying victims; and theſe are black rams. After theſe there is a man ſeated; and the inſcription ſhews that he is Ocnus. He is repreſented twiſting a rope: and a female aſs ſtands by him, who eats the rope as faſt he twiſts it. They ſay that this Ocnus was an induſtrious man, who had an expenſive wife; and that whatever he collected by his induſtry, ſhe ſoon after found means to conſume. They are of opinion, therefore, that Polygnotus deſigned to repreſent this affair by the rope-maker and his aſs. I know, indeed, that the Ionians, when they ſee a man very induſtrious, but at the ſame time labouring without any emolument, ſay that he twiſts the rope of Ocnus. Diviners, too, who propheſy from the flight of birds, call a certain bird Ocnus: and this bird is the largeſt and moſt beautiful of herons, and at the ſame time is very rare. Tityus too is painted in this picture; and is repreſented as no longer puniſhed, but perfectly wearied out with uninterrupted puniſhment. There is likewiſe a certain obſcure and imperfect image. On turning your attention to the other parts of the picture, you will ſee Ariadne very near the man who twiſts the rope. She ſits on a rock, and looks at her ſiſter Phædra: and her body is ſuſpended by a rope which ſhe holds with both her hands. Indeed the particulars reſpecting the death of Phædra are here ſignified in a more becoming manner. But Bacchus took away Ariadne from Theſeus,

either through the interference of ſome divine power, or by ſtratagem, as his naval forces were much ſuperior to thoſe of Theſeus. This Bacchus, too, in my opinion, was the ſame with the one who firſt led an army to the Indies, and firſt raiſed bridges over the Euphrates, in that part of the city which is called Zeugma, and where even at preſent a rope is preſerved, made of vine and ivy twigs, which Bacchus is ſaid to have uſed when he built the bridges. Many things indeed are reported concerning Bacchus, both by the Greeks and Egyptians.

Under Phædra Chloris reclines on the knees of Thyia. He who aſſerts that a great friendſhip ſubſiſted between theſe women, while living, will certainly not err. This Chloris was a native of Orchomenus in Bœotia: and it is ſaid by ſome that ſhe married Neleus the ſon of Neptune, at that time when Neptune had connection with Thyia. Procris the daughter of Erechtheus ſtands near Thyia: and after her you may ſee Clymene, with her back towards Thyia. In the poem called Noſtoi, it is ſaid that Clymene was the daughter of Minyas, and that ſhe was married to Cephalus the ſon of Deion, by whom ſhe had Iphiclus. Of Procris it is univerſally ſaid, that before Clymene ſhe was married to Cephalus, and that ſhe was ſlain by her huſband. In the more interior part of the picture, after Clymene you may ſee the Theban Megara, who was the wife of Hercules. She was however at length diſmiſſed by Hercules, in conſequence of his being deprived of all the children which he had by her, and believing that his connection with her was inauſpicious. Above the heads of thoſe women we have juſt mentioned, is the daughter of Salmoneus ſitting on a ſtone. Eriphyle ſtands near her, and raiſes the extremities of her fingers

through

through her garment to her neck. You may conjecture, that ſhe holds a necklace in that hand which is concealed in the folds of the garment. Elpenor is repreſented above Eriphyle and Ulyſſes kneeling, and holding a ſword over a ditch. The prophet Tireſias approaches to the ditch: and after Tireſias, Anticlea the mother of Ulyſſes is ſeen ſitting on a ſtone. Elpenor is covered with a mat made of bulruſhes, after the manner of ſailors, inſtead of a garment. Theſeus and Pirithous ſit on a throne below Ulyſſes: and of theſe Theſeus holds the ſword of Pirithous, and his own ſword, in both his hands; but Pirithous looks at the ſwords, and ſeems to be indignant that he has no weapons to accompliſh his daring enterpriſe. Panyaſis aſſerts in his verſes, that Theſeus and Pirithous were not bound to the throne like captives, but that a ſtone grew to their ſkin, and ſerved inſtead of bonds. Homer in both his poems mentions the celebrated friendſhip of Theſeus and Pirithous. For Ulyſſes thus ſpeaks to the Phæacians:

> "Th' illuſtrious Theſeus' and Pirithous' ſhades,
> Fam'd ſons of gods, I then perhaps had ſeen."

And in the Iliad, Neſtor, when he exhorts Agamemnon and Achilles to lay aſide their enmity, thus ſpeaks:

> "A godlike race of heroes once I knew,
> Such as no more theſe aged eyes ſhall view!
> Lives there a chief to match Pirithous' fame,
> Dryas the bold, or Ceneus' deathleſs name;
> Theſeus endued with more than mortal might,
> Or Polyphemus like the gods in fight?"

CHAP.

CHAP. XXX.

AFTER theſe Polygnotus has painted the daughters of Pandarus. Homer, in the ſpeeches of Penelope, ſays, that through the anger of the gods, their parents died while they were virgins, and that thus becoming orphans they were educated by Venus. That they likewiſe received other benefits from other goddeſſes; as for inſtance, ſufficient prudence and beauty of form from Juno, tallneſs from Diana, and ſuch works as are adapted to the female ſex from Minerva. Laſtly, that Venus aſcended to heaven, and obtained from Jupiter proſperous nuptials for the virgins; but that during the abſence of Venus they were ſeized by the harpies, and delivered up to the Furies. And ſuch is the account given of them by Homer. But Polygnotus has crowned them with flowers, and has repreſented them playing with dice. The names of theſe women were Camiro and Clytie. It appears, too, that their father Pandarus was a Mileſian, from Miletus a Cretan city, and the aſſociate of Tantalus, both in his theft, and fraudulent oath. After the daughters of Pandarus, Antilochus is ſeen, with one of his feet on a ſtone, and holding his head with both his hands. Agamemnon ſucceeds Antilochus; and he is repreſented leaning with his left arm on a ſceptre, and holding a wand in his hands. Proteſilaus ſits looking at Achilles; and Patroclus ſtands above Achilles. All theſe are beardleſs except Agamemnon. Phocus is painted above theſe, who appears to be quite a youth; together with Iaſcus, who has a beard,

and

and is endeavouring to take off a ring from the left hand finger of Phocus; and this for the following reaſon:

When Phocus the ſon of Æacus paſſed over from Ægina to that country which is now called Phocis, and obtained the government of that part of the continent, Iaſcus contracted a great friendſhip with him, and gave him things ſuitable to his dignity, and a ſtone ſeal ſet in gold. But Phocus not long after this returning to Ægina, loſt his life through the ſtratagems of Peleus. On this account, therefore, in the picture, Iaſcus is deſirous that the ſeal may be conſidered as a monument of his friendſhip; and Phocus very readily ſuffers him to take it off his finger, that he may prove his friendſhip by ſhewing it. Above theſe is Mæra, ſitting on a ſtone. In the poem called Noſtoi, it is ſaid that ſhe died while ſhe was a virgin; and that ſhe was the daughter of Proetus, who was the ſon of Therſander, and the grandſon of Siſyphus. After Mæra, you will ſee Actæon the ſon of Ariſtæus, and his mother, holding the fawn of a hind in her hands, and ſitting on the ſkin of a hind. A hunting dog ſtands near her; and this on account of the life of Actæon, and the manner of his death. If again you look to the lower parts of the picture, you will ſee after Patroclus, Orpheus ſitting on a certain hill, with a harp in his left hand, and in his right hand the leaves of a willow-tree. He is repreſented leaning on the trunk of this tree. The grove itſelf appears to be facred to Proſerpine, and abounds, as Homer repreſents it, with poplars and willows. The figure of Orpheus is Grecian; and neither his garment, nor the covering on his head, is Thracian. Promedon leans on the other part of the willow.

Some are of opinion that this name was introduced by Polygnotus,

Polygnotus, as if he had found it in some poem. Others again say, that Promedon was a Grecian, who was very desirous of hearing all kinds of music, and particularly that of Orpheus. In this part of the picture too is Schedius, who led the Phocenses to Troy: and after him is Pelias sitting on a throne, and whose beard is equally hoary with his head. He is represented looking at Orpheus. But Schedius holds a dagger in his hand, and is crowned with grass. Thamyris, whose sight is destroyed, sits near Pelias. His whole figure is that of a *humble* abject man; his hair too and beard are thick and long. Near his feet there is a lyre, which appears to have been thrown down, the bent parts of which are broken, and the chords are burst. Above him is Marsyas sitting on a stone; and near Marsyas, Olympus stands, who is a boy in the flower of his youth, and has the figure of one learning to play on the pipe. The Phrygians who inhabit Celænæ are of opinion, that the river which runs through their country was once this Marsyas. They add, that Marsyas invented that melody of the pipe which the Greeks call *Metroos*, or *harmony sacred to the mother of the gods*; and that he assisted them when they were attacked by the Gauls, both by means of the water of the river Marsyas, and the melody of his pipes.

CHAP. XXXI.

IF you again look to the upper parts of the picture, you will see in a continued series, Salaminian Ajax next to Actæon, and afterwards Palamedes and Therstes playing with dice, which were invented by Palamedes. The other

other Ajax is looking at them while they are playing. The colour of this Ajax is that of a ſea-faring man; and his body is yet wet with the foam of the ſea. Polygnotus ſeems to have collected the enemies of Ulyſſes into one place. But the reaſon why Ajax the ſon of Oileus hated Ulyſſes, was becauſe Ulyſſes adviſed the Greeks to ſtone Ajax to death, for the daring wickedneſs of his conduct towards Caſſandra. I know too from the Cyprian verſes, that Palamedes, when he once went a-fiſhing, was drowned by Ulyſſes and Diomed. A little above Oilean Ajax, Meleager the ſon of Oeneus is painted, and appears to be looking at Ajax. All theſe except Palamedes have beards. With reſpect to the death of Meleager, Homer informs us, that he was deſtroyed by one of the Furies, through the imprecations of Althæa. But the poem called *the great Eoeæ*, and likewiſe the verſes which are denominated *Minyas*, ſay, that the Curetes were aſſiſted by Apollo againſt the Ætolians, and that Meleager was ſlain by Apollo. With reſpect to the firebrand, too, as that it was given by the Fates to Althæa, that Meleager would neceſſarily die when it was conſumed by fire, and that Althæa in a fit of anger burnt it—theſe particulars were firſt of all deſcribed by Phrynichus the ſon of Polyphradmon, in the drama Pleuron:

> "Deſtin'd to a horrid fate
> Through his vengeful mother's hate;
> Through her machinations dire,
> He was pierc'd to death by fire,
> By a brand's devouring flame,
> Kindled by the fraudful dame."

However, Phrynichus does not ſay much reſpecting this affair, which it might be ſuppoſed he would have done,

done, if it had been his own invention. And hence it appears to me, that he juſt mentions this circumſtance as a thing well known to all Greece. In the loweſt parts of the picture, after the Thracian Thamyris, you will ſee Hector ſitting with both his hands on his left knee, and exhibiting the appearance of a man oppreſſed with ſorrow. After him is Memnon ſitting on a ſtone; and cloſe by him is Sarpedon leaning with his face on both his hands. But one of the hands of Memnon is placed on the ſhoulder of Sarpedon. And all theſe have a beard. In the robe of Memnon too birds are painted: and theſe birds are called Memnonides. The inhabitants of Helleſpont ſay that theſe birds, on ſtated days every year, fly to the ſepulchre of Memnon, and dig up every part about the tomb that is void of trees and graſs, and afterwards ſprinkle ſuch parts with their wings which are wet with the water of the river Æſepus. Near Memnon there is a naked Æthiopian boy, becauſe Memnon was a king of the Æthiopians. However, he came to the Trojan war, not from Æthiopia, but from Suſa a Perſian city, and the river Choaſpes; having vanquiſhed all thoſe nations which are ſituated between Suſa and the Choaſpes. The Phrygians too, even at preſent, ſhew a road through which he led his army at that time when he was ſelecting the ſhorteſt paſſages. This road is cut through deſert places. Above Sarpedon and Memnon, Paris is painted, as yet a beardleſs youth. He is repreſented clapping his hands after the manner of ruſtics; and you may conjecture, that by this clapping he calls Penthefilea. Penthefilea too is looking at Paris; and by her countenance ſhe appears to deſpiſe him, and to conſider him as a man of no eſtimation. But the figure of Penthefilea is that of a virgin,

with

with a bow like thoſe in Scythia, and with the ſkin of a leopard thrown about her ſhoulders.

Above Pentheſilea there are certain perſons carrying water in earthen urns full of holes. One of theſe reſembles a virgin in the flower of her youth, but the other appears to be more advanced in age. There is no inſcription on each of theſe women; but a common inſcription on them ſhews that they are of the number of the uninitiated. The women that are above theſe are, Calliſto the daughter of Lycaon, Nomia, and Pero the daughter of Neleus. For this laſt, Neleus demands an ox of Iphiclus as a ſponſal gift. Calliſto has the hide of a bear for her bed-covering; and her feet are placed on the knees of Nomia. I have before ſhewn that, according to the Arcadians, Nomia was one of the nymphs belonging to their country. According to poets, indeed, nymphs live a great number of years, but yet are not entirely exempt from death. After Calliſto and the women that are with her, there is a repreſentation of a precipice, to the ſummit of which Siſyphus the ſon of Æolus endeavours to roll a ſtone. In the ſame part of the picture there are a large veſſel, an old man, a boy, and women ſitting on a ſtone. One of theſe, of the ſame age with the old man, ſtands by him; but the others are carrying water. You may conjecture that the old woman is pouring out the remains of the water from the perforated veſſel, into the large veſſel again. It appears to me, that theſe perſons deſpiſed the Eleuſinian myſteries. For the more ancient Greeks conſidered theſe myſteries as much ſuperior in dignity to all other inſtitutions, which lead to piety, as gods are to heroes. Below this large veſſel, Tantalus is repreſented ſuffering thoſe puniſhments which are mentioned

tioned by Homer; and beſides theſe, he is terrified leſt a ſtone which hangs over his head ſhould fall on him. It is evident that Polygnotus followed Archilochus in this; but I cannot tell whether Archilochus was inſtructed in the particulars belonging to this ſtone by others. And ſo numerous are the figures, and ſuch the elegance of the picture which the Thaſian artiſt painted.

CHAP. XXXII.

A THEATRE, which deſerves to be inſpected, joins to the encloſure of the temple. And on aſcending from the encloſure, you will ſee a ſtatue of Bacchus which was dedicated by the Cnidians. In the upper part too of the city, there is a ſtadium, which is built of ſuch ſtone as the mountain Parnaſſus abounds with; and this remained to the time of the Athenian Herodes, who adorned it with Pentelican ſtone. And ſuch are the particulars of things remaining even at preſent at Delphos, and which deſerve to be mentioned. On proceeding from Delphos to the ſummits of Parnaſſus, at the diſtance of about ſixty ſtadia, you will ſee a brazen ſtatue: and for a man not heavily clothed, there is a road here, by which he may deſcend either with a mule or a horſe to the cavern Corycium. This cavern was thus denominated from the nymph Corycia, as I have a little before ſhewn. Of all the caverns that I have ever ſeen, I conſider this as the moſt admirable. For, indeed, no one would wiſh to diſcover the number of caverns on maritime coaſts, and in the profundities of the ſea; but there are ſome

of

of a great name both in Greece and among the Barbarians. Thus the Phrygians that dwell near the river Peucella, and who derive their origin from Arcadia and the Azanes, ſhew thoſe who travel to their country a cavern called Steunos. This cavern is round, and its altitude is accommodated to deſcent; and within it there is a temple of the mother of the gods, and a ſtatue of the goddeſs. Themiſonium is a city above Laodicea, and is inhabited by the Phrygians: and when the army of the Gauls ſpread all over Ionia and the neighbouring coaſts, bringing with them deſtruction wherever they came, the Themiſonians ſay, that Hercules, Apollo, and Mercury, gave them aſſiſtance; and that the rulers of their country were admoniſhed by theſe divinities in a dream, to order the men, women, and children, to conceal themſelves in a cavern belonging to this city. In remembrance of this circumſtance, they have placed before the cavern ſtatues of a moderate ſize of Hercules, Mercury, and Apollo: and theſe ſtatues they call *Spelaïtai.*

This cavern is about thirty ſtadia diſtant from the town; and in it there are fountains of water: but there is not any path which leads to it, nor does the light of the ſun penetrate far into it. And beſides this, the greateſt part of the roof is very near the ground. Among the Magnetæ too who dwell near the river Lethæus, there is a place called Hylæ: and in it there is a cavern ſacred to Apollo, which for its magnitude does not demand much admiration; but the ſtatue of Apollo within this cavern is very ancient, and imparts ſtrength in every undertaking. Hence, men that are ſacred to Apollo leap from precipices and lofty rocks without ſuſtaining any injury; and having torn up trees of a prodigious altitude by the

roots, carry them with eaſe through the narroweſt roads. The cavern Corycium, however, ſurpaſſes in magnitude thoſe we have mentioned; and the greateſt part of it may be deſcended into, and this without a light. The roof is ſufficiently elevated above the ground: and the cavern contains many fountains of water; but a ſtill greater quantity of water trickles from its top; ſo that the veſtiges of drops of water may be ſeen throughout the cavern. The inhabitants of Parnaſſus are of opinion, that this cavern is particularly ſacred to the Corycian nymphs and to Pan. But from hence to the ſummits of Parnaſſus, the road to a man lightly clothed is difficult. For the ſummits of this mountain are above the clouds; and the Thyiades, agitated with divine fury, ſacrifice on theſe ſummits to Bacchus and Apollo. Tithorea too is about eighty ſtadia diſtant from Delphos, to one who is travelling through Parnaſſus. The road is not entirely mountainous; but that part of it which may be paſſed through by carriages is ſaid to be longer by ſome ſtadia. As to the name of the city, I know that Herodotus, in that part of his hiſtory in which he gives an account of the irruption of the Perſians into Greece, differs from what is aſſerted in the oracles of Bacis. For Bacis calls theſe people Tithorenſes; but Herodotus ſays, that when the Barbarians invaded this country, the inhabitants fled to the ſummit of Parnaſſus; and he calls the city Neon, and the ſummit of Parnaſſus Tithorea. It appears, therefore, that all the country was at firſt called Tithorea; but that in proceſs of time, when the inhabitants collected themſelves into one city, that which was once called Neon came to be denominated Tithorea.

The natives ſay, that this name was derived from the nymph

nymph Tithorea, who was one of thoſe nymphs that, according to the ancient poets, are produced from other trees, and particularly from oaks. But the affairs of the Tithoreans, one age prior to mine, were changed by the dæmon to a worſe condition. At preſent, however, the apparatus of a theatre, and the incloſure of a more ancient forum, remain. The particulars in the city, which moſtly deſerve to be mentioned, are a grove, temple, and ſtatue of Minerva; and a monument in remembrance of Antiope and Phocus. In my account of the affairs of the Thebans, I mentioned the inſanity of Antiope, through the anger of Bacchus, and on what account ſhe became the victim of divine anger. I ſhewed too in the ſame place, that ſhe was married to Phocus the ſon of Ornytion, and was buried with him: and beſides this, I indicated what the oracle of Bacis aſſerted, both concerning this ſepulchre, and that of Zethus and Amphion among the Thebans. And ſuch are the particulars which deſerve to be mentioned in this town; for there are not any beſides theſe. A river runs near the city of Tithorea; and the inhabitants of the city deſcend to its banks, and draw water from it. The name of the river is Cachales. The temple of Æſculapius is about eighty ſtadia diſtant from Tithorea: and they call this god *Archagetas*, or *the primæval divinity*. He is honoured by the Tithoreans, and by the reſt of the Phocenſes. Within the incloſure there are habitations for ſuppliants and the ſervants of the god: but in the middle of it there is a temple, and a ſtone ſtatue which has a beard, and is about two feet in altitude. On the right hand of the ſtatue there is a bed. They are of opinion that they ought to ſacrifice all kinds of victims to the god, except goats. At the diſtance of about forty

ſtadia from this temple of Æſculapius, there is an incloſure; and in it there is an adytum ſacred to Iſis. This is the moſt holy of every thing which the Greeks conſecrate to this goddeſs. For the Tithoreans neither think it proper to take up their reſidence here, nor to ſuffer any to enter the adytum, except ſuch as the goddeſs Iſis informs them by a dream ſhe thinks proper to admit. The ſubterranean gods in the cities above the Mæander act in juſt the ſame manner; for they exhibit in dreams the images of thoſe perſons who they are willing ſhould be admitted into the adyta.

But the Tithoreans celebrate the Paneguris of Iſis twice a year, viz. in ſpring and in autumn. And on the third day prior to each of theſe public ſolemnities, thoſe that are permitted to enter the adytum purify it after a certain ſecret manner; and always bring into the ſame place the relics of the victims which were ſacrificed in the former ſolemnity, and bury them there. This place where they bury the relics, is, as far as I can conjecture, about two ſtadia diſtant from the adytum. And theſe are the ceremonies which they perform on that day. On the following day they erect pedlars tents from reeds and other materials which they happen to meet with. And on the laſt of the three days, thoſe who aſſemble in theſe tents ſell ſlaves, and cattle of every kind, together with apparel, ſilver, and gold. After the middle of the day, too, they turn their attention to the ſacrifice. And then the more affluent ſacrifice oxen and ſtags; but the poorer ſort geeſe, and the birds called Meleagrides. But they do not think proper to ſacrifice ſwine; nor do they employ on this occaſion ſheep or goats. Such victims as they ſacrifice they ſend into the adytum, where a funeral

pile is raiſed for the ſacrifice. They reckon it neceſſary too to roll round the victims linen or flaxen bandages. And this is the Egyptian mode of adorning the victims. But they cauſe all the victims which are immolated to paſs in the proceſſion; and it is the employment of ſome to ſend them into the adytum, and of others who are before the adytum to burn the tents; after which they ſpeedily depart from this place.

They ſay too, that a certain perſon once among the number of thoſe who are forbidden to enter the adytum, and who indeed was a profane man, when the pile was enkindled, through curioſity and boldneſs entered the adytum; that all parts of it appeared to him to be full of ſpectres; and that on his returning to Tithoræa, as ſoon as he had related all that he had ſeen, he died. I have heard things ſimilar to theſe of a certain Phœnician. They ſay that the Egyptians celebrate the feſtival of Iſis in that part of the year in which ſhe bewails Oſiris; that then the Nile begins to aſcend; and that the vulgar of the natives ſay, that the tears of Iſis cauſe the Nile to increaſe and irrigate the fields. At that time, therefore, a certain Roman, who was the præfect of Egypt, perſuaded a man, for a ſum of money, to enter into the adytum of Iſis in Coptos. This man returned indeed, but died as ſoon as he had told what he had ſeen. Homer, therefore, appears to ſpeak truly when he ſays, that no man can clearly behold the gods, and at the ſame time be proſperous in his affairs. But Tithoræa produces fewer olives than either the Attic or Sicyonian land. Its olives, however, are ſuperior both in colour and ſweetneſs to thoſe which are brought from Spain and Iſtria. They form all various kinds of ointments from theſe, and ſend theſe olives as a preſent to Cæſar.

CHAP. XXXIII.

BUT another road from Tithoræa leads to Ledon. This was formerly reckoned a city; but at preſent the Ledontii have abandoned it, through the imbecility of their affairs, and about eighty of them reſide near the Cephiſſus. However, the place of their reſidence is called Ledon; and they form a part of the Phocenſian convention, juſt the ſame as the Panopenſes. But from the place which is now inhabited near the Cephiſſus, to the ruins of the former city, there is a diſtance of forty ſtadia. They ſay that the city was denominated from one of its natives. Other cities too, beſides this, have been irreparably injured, through the unjuſt conduct of their inhabitants. Thus Troy was entirely deſtroyed through the baſe behaviour of Paris towards Menelaus. Thus the Mileſians, through the intemperate deſire of and lawleſs love of Heſtiæus, loſt their city, while he was at one time willing to reign in the city of Edonis, at another time to be the counſellor of Darius, and ſometimes to return to Ionia. And thus the Ledontii ſeverely ſuffered through the ſacrilegious conduct of Philomelus. But Lilæa is diſtant from Delphos about one winter-day's journey; and you deſcend to it through Parnaſſus. I conjecture that the diſtance is about one hundred and eighty ſtadia. A ſecond unfortunate circumſtance from Macedonia oppreſſed this city after it was reſtored: for, being beſieged by Demetrius, the inhabitants were obliged to accede to conditions of peace, and to admit a guard belonging to the enemy within their walls. Nor were they freed from this bondage, till one of the natives, whoſe name was

Patron,

Patron, incited all thoſe that were capable of bearing arms to riſe, and, having vanquiſhed the Macedonians, compelled them to abandon the city, and accede to the conditions which he propoſed. And the Lilæans, in remembrance of ſo great a benefit, dedicated his ſtatue at Delphos.

But in Lilæa there are a theatre, a forum, and a bath. There are likewiſe two temples, one of Apollo, and the other of Diana. The ſtatues in theſe temples are in an upright poſition, were made by Attic artiſts, and are of Pentelican ſtone. They ſay that Lilæa was one of the Naiades, that ſhe was the daughter of Cephiſſus, and that from her the city was denominated. The fountains of the river are in this place; and the river riſes from the earth, not at all times quietly, but for the moſt part, and particularly in the middle of the day, with a loud noiſe, like the roaring of a bull. For three parts of the year, viz. in ſpring, ſummer, and autumn, Lilæa is a temperate region; but the mountain Parnaſſus prevents it from being ſimilarly temperate in winter. A place called Charadra, which is ſituated on a precipice, is about thirty ſtadia diſtant from hence. The inhabitants of this place labour under a great ſcarcity of water. The river Charadrus ſupplies them with all the water they have; and this river, after running through ſhelving places, pours itſelf into the Cephiſſus. It appears to me that the town Charadra was denominated from this river. But the Charadræ have two altars in the open air ſacred to two of thoſe who are called heroes. Some are of opinion that theſe heroes are the Dioſcuri; and others ſay that they are heroes belonging to this country. The land too about the Cephiſſus is by far the beſt in all Phocis; and is naturally adapted to the

plantation of trees, and the ſowing of ſeeds of every kind; and abounds with excellent paſtures. Hence they pay particular attention to the cultivation of this part of the country. And hence there are ſome who think that Homer in the following verſe, by the *Parapotamii*, or *inhabitants of the river*, does not allude to a city, but to thoſe who cultivate the land near the Cephiſſus:

"And thoſe who near divine Cephiſſus dwell."

This opinion, however, may be confuted, both by the hiſtory of Herodotus, and the particulars which are related of the Pythian victories. For the Amphictyons firſt inſtituted the Pythian games, and the Parapotamian Æchmæas was the firſt that in theſe games conquered boys in boxing. In like manner Herodotus, when he enumerates the cities of the Phocenſes which Xerxes burnt, reckons among them the Parapotamians. Theſe people, however, were not reſtored by the Athenians and Bœotians, but were obliged through imbecility, and want of money, to betake themſelves to other cities. The ruins, indeed, of this city do not at preſent remain, nor is it even known where it formerly ſtood.

From Lilæa there is a road of about ſixty ſtadia in length, which leads to Amphiclea. The inhabitants of this place have corrupted the name of the city: for Herodotus, following the moſt ancient reports, calls it Ophitea; and the Amphictyons, when a decree was paſſed for deſtroying the cities of the Phocenſes, gave it the name of Ophitea. But the natives relate the following particulars concerning this city: A certain powerful man, ſuſpecting the ſtratagems of his enemies, placed his ſon in a veſſel ſuch as is uſed for the reception of liquor, truſting that

that in this place he would be concealed with ſecurity. A wolf, however, ruſhed on the boy in his place of concealment; but a ſtrong dragon winding himſelf round the veſſel, defended him from the aſſaults of the wolf. The father ſome time after this came to ſee his ſon, and ſuppoſing that the dragon had deſtroyed him, hurled his dart at the animal, and, together with the dragon, ſlew his ſon. But when he underſtood from certain ſhepherds that the boy was ſlain by his own hands, and that the dragon had been the benevolent guardian of his ſon, he raiſed a funeral pile for the dragon and the boy in common: and they ſay that the place retains veſtiges of this funeral pile even at preſent, and that the city was denominated Ophitea from the dragon. In this city, that which principally deſerves to be inſpected is an adytum, in which they perform the orgies of Bacchus. The entrance to this adytum is viſible, but no ſtatue belonging to it is apparent. It is ſaid by the Amphicleenſes, that this god predicts to them future events, and affords them remedies againſt diſeaſes. And the diſeaſes, indeed, of the Amphicleenſes and neighbouring cities are healed through the information imparted to them in dreams. But the prieſt of the adytum poſſeſſes a divining power, and uſes a divine afflatus. Tithronium is about fifteen ſtadia diſtant from Amphiclea. This town is ſituated in a plain, and does not contain any thing which deſerves to be mentioned. From Tithronium to Drymæa there is a diſtance of twenty ſtadia. But where the road which leads from Amphiclea to Drymæa joins with that which leads from Tithronium, there are a grove and altar of Apollo, which belong to the Tithronenſes. There is likewiſe a temple here, but it does not contain any ſtatue. On directing your courſe to the left hand in this

this part of the country, at the diſtance of about eighty ſtadia from Amphiclea, you will arrive at Drymæa, according to the information of Herodotus. The inhabitants of this place were formerly called Naubolenſes; and they ſay that their city was built by Phocus the ſon of Æacus. But the Drymæi have an ancient temple of Ceres *Theſmophoros*, or *the legiſlative deity*. In this temple there is a ſtatue in an upright poſition; and they celebrate an annual feſtival in honour of the goddeſs.

CHAP. XXXIV.

OF all the cities too in Phocis except Delphos, Elatea is the greateſt. This city is ſituated oppoſite to Amphiclea, and is diſtant from it about one hundred and eighty ſtadia. The greater part of this road is a plain: but near the walls of Elatæa it has a gradual elevation. Through the flat part of the road the river Cephiſſus flows; and the birds called Otides feed on its banks. The Elatæans defended themſelves againſt, and repelled the army of the Macedonians led by Caſſander. They likewiſe fled from Taxilus, who commanded the army of Mithridates: and for this the Romans gave them their freedom, and ſuffered them to cultivate their land without paying tribute. There is a diſpute concerning their origin: but they aſſert of themſelves, that they were formerly Arcadians. For they ſay that Elatus the ſon of Arcas, when the Phlegyans attacked Delphos, fought in defence of the god, and afterwards took up his reſidence together with his forces in Phocis, and built the city Elatea. Among the cities of Phocis too which

which the Perſians burnt, Elatea is numbered. And this city was afflicted with many calamities in common with the Phocenſes: the *Dæmon* likewiſe prepared for them private misfortunes through the Macedonians. But it was through the means of Olympiodorus that the ſiege of Caſſander and the Macedonians was rendered ineffectual. Philip, however, the ſon of Demetrius, having corrupted the principal perſons of the city by gifts, raiſed the greateſt terror in the minds of the common people. But Titus Flaminius, being ſent from Rome in order to give liberty to Greece, declared that he would reſtore the Elatæans to their ancient polity, if they would only revolt from the Macedonians. However, whether it was through the ſtupidity of the common people, or the perſuaſion of their rulers, they continued faithful to Philip, and ſuffered themſelves to be beſieged by the Romans.

Some time after this they ſuſtained the ſiege of Taxilus, who commanded the army of Mithridates and of the Barbarians from Pontus; and for this the Romans gave them their liberty. When, too, in my time the Coſtoboci, who were a band of robbers, infeſted Greece by their depredations, and penetrated as far as to Elatea, Mneſibulus, having collected a number of choſen men, made a great ſlaughter of the Barbarians, but fell himſelf in the engagement. This Mneſibulus gained other victories in the ſtadium, and in the two hundred and thirty-fifth Olympiad was victorious in the ſtadium, and in the repeated courſe with a ſhield. In Elatea, therefore, near the road in which the races are run, there is a brazen ſtatue of Mneſibulus. The Elateans too have a forum, which deſerves to be inſpected; and in it there is a ſtatue of Elatus on a pillar. But I am not certain, whether they

deſigned

deſigned by this to honour the builder of their city, or whether they raiſed this pillar as a mark of honour over a ſepulchre. They have likewiſe a temple of Æſculapius, in which there is a ſtatue with a beard. The names of thoſe who made this ſtatue are Timocles and Timarchides; and both of them derived their origin from the Attic land. In the extremity of the city, on the right hand, there are a theatre, and an ancient brazen ſtatue of Minerva. They ſay that this goddeſs defended them againſt the Barbarians that fought under the command of Taxilus. The temple too of Minerva Cranæa is about twenty ſtadia diſtant from Elatea. The road to this temple is rather ſteep, but its elevation cannot be perceived by thoſe that aſcend it. At the end of this road there is a hill, which is for the moſt part ſteep, but which is neither very bulky nor very lofty. On the top of this hill is the temple of Minerva; and in it there are porches, and places of habitation in the porches. Thoſe that miniſter to the goddeſs dwell here; and the perſon that preſides over the ſacred concerns in particular takes up his reſidence in one of theſe habitations. They chooſe this perſon out of the number of beardleſs youths, and take care that he reſigns his office before he has a beard. He performs the office of prieſt to the goddeſs for five continued years; and during all this time he lives with the goddeſs, and bathes himſelf in baſons after the ancient manner. But the ſtatue of the goddeſs was made by the ſons of Polycles, and has the appearance of one prepared for a battle. Her ſhield too is faſhioned in imitation of that among the Athenians which is called the ſhield of the virgin.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXV.

A MOUNTAINOUS road on the right hand of Elatea leads to Abæ and Hyampolis. A public road likewiſe leads to the ſame cities; and this is the road which brings you from Orchomenos to Opus. On proceeding therefore from Orchomenos to Opus, and turning a little to the left hand, you will ſee a road which leads to Abæ. The inhabitants of this city ſay that they came to Phocis from Argos, and that their city was denominated from Abas by whom it was built. They add, that Abas was the ſon of Lynceus and Hypermneſtra the daughter of Danaus. The Abæans too have venerated Apollo from an early period of time, and once poſſeſſed an oracle of the god. But the Perſians did not pay the ſame veneration to this divinity as the Romans did afterwards. For the Romans, through their piety to Apollo, ſuffered the Abæans to uſe their own laws: but the army of Xerxes burnt the temple in Abæ. The Greeks, however, that oppoſed the Barbarians, did not think proper to rebuild the temples of the Greeks which the Perſians had burnt, that the ruins of them might remain as perpetual monuments of hatred between the two nations. Hence, in the borders of the Haliartians, many half-burnt temples yet remain; and among the Athenians in the Phaleric road there is a temple of Juno half burnt, and this is the caſe with a temple of Ceres in Phalerum. The temple in Abæ appears to me to have exhibited an appearance of this kind at that time, till in the Phocic war the Thebans burnt thoſe ſuppliants that had been vanquiſhed in battle,

fled

fled to Abæ, and ſet on fire the temple which had been before half burnt by the Perſians. And hence, at preſent this temple is in the moſt ruinous condition of all the buildings which have been injured by fire. For this temple, which had been injured by the Perſian fire, was afterwards injured in a ſtill greater degree by that of the Bœotians. Near this great temple there is another temple, which is not ſo large: and this was dedicated by the emperor Adrian to Apollo.

The Abæans however have ſtatues more ancient than their temples, and which they themſelves dedicated. Al theſe ſtatues are brazen, are in an erect poſition, and are Apollo, Latona, and Diana. The Abæans too have a theatre and a forum, both which are of ancient workmanſhip. But on returning into the ſtraight road to Opus, you will arrive at Hyampolis. The name of this city indicates the origin of its inhabitants, and the place from which they fled to this country. For the Hyantes being vanquiſhed by Cadmus and his aſſociates, fled from Thebes into theſe parts. And at firſt, indeed, their city was called by the neighbouring people the city of the Hyantes; but in proceſs of time it came to be denominated Hyampolis. This city was burnt by Xerxes, and afterwards entirely ſubverted by Philip. Yet notwithſtanding this, the ornaments of the ancient forum ſtill remain—a *Bouleuterion*, or *place of conſultation*, and a theatre not far from the gates. But the emperor Adrian built a porch here, which bears his name. The inhabitants of this city have but one well; and they have no other water beſides this, either for bathing or drinking, except the rain water which they collect in winter. They venerate too Diana beyond all the divinities; and they have a temple of this goddeſs. But I am

not able to deſcribe her ſtatue, becauſe they only think proper to open the temple twice a year.

They ſay that ſuch victims as are ſelected for Diana are not afflicted with any diſeaſe, and grow fatter by feeding than other cattle. But not only the road to Delphos, or Daulis, through Panopeus, leads from Chæronea to Phocis, and to the road which is called Sciſſa; but another road, which is rough, and for the moſt part mountainous, conducts you from Chæronea to a city of the Phocenſes, which is called Stiris. The length of this road is about one hundred and twenty ſtadia. The inhabitants of this city ſay, that they were formerly Athenians, and that being expelled the Attic land, together with Peteus the ſon of Orneus by Ægeus, they ſettled in this place. They add, that the city was called Stiris, becauſe a great part of thoſe that followed Peteus belonged to the Stirienſes But the habitation of the Stirienſes is in an elevated and rocky place; and hence in ſummer they are in want of water. For they have neither many wells, nor is the water which they afford fit to be drunk. It ſerves however for baths, and ſupplies beaſts of burthen with drink. The inhabitants indeed fetch the water which they drink from a fountain which is about four ſtadia diſtant from the town, and which is dug out of a rock. They are therefore obliged to deſcend in order to obtain this water. In Stiris too there is a temple of Ceres, who is called Stiritis. This temple is raiſed from crude tiles; but the ſtatue of the goddeſs is made of Pentelican ſtone, and has torches in its hands. Near it there is another ſtatue, which is ancient, and adorned with fillets.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXVI.

BUT from Stiris to Ambryſſus there is a plain road, which is about ſixty ſtadia in length. Between the mountains here there is a plain: and there are many vines in the plain, and plants called *hyſgini*. Brambles too grow here without intermiſſion as well as vines. This bramble the Ionians and the reſt of the Greeks call *coccos*, or *the grain with which ſcarlet is dyed*: but the Gauls above Phrygia call it in their native tongue *Us*. Its magnitude is nearly the ſame with that of the white thorn, but its leaves are blacker and ſofter than thoſe of the bulruſh. In other reſpects, however, it reſembles the bulruſh. Its fruit is ſimilar to that of the ſolanum or nightſhade, and its magnitude is equal to that of bitter vetches. In the fruit too of the coccos a ſmall animal breeds; and this animal, if it finds a paſſage to the air when the fruit is ripe, immediately takes wing, and exhibits the appearance of a gnat. But now before the animal can be conceived they gather the fruit of the coccos. The blood too of this inſect is uſeful for the purpoſe of dying wool. But Ambryſſus is ſituated under mount Parnaſſus; and the Delphi are beyond it. They ſay that the city was denominated from the hero Ambryſſus. The Thebans, in the war againſt Philip and the Macedonians, ſurrounded Ambryſſus with a double wall; and, in raiſing it, uſed the ſtone which this place abounds with, and which is of a black colour, and very ſtrong. The meaſure of the circumference of each wall is but little ſhort of two paces; but the altitude of each is about two

paces

paces and a half, in that part which has not yet fallen. The interval between the two walls is about one pace. But they neglected adorning these walls with battlements, towers, and other ornaments which are usually added to walls, because they were built merely for the purposes of defence. The Ambryssenses too have a forum not very large, and many of the stone statues which it contains are broken. On directing your course to Anticyra, you will find the road at first steep; but after you have ascended it for about two stadia it becomes level. And on the right hand of this road there is a temple of Dictynnæan Diana. The Ambryssenses particularly reverence this goddess: and her statue is of Æginean workmanship, and is made of black stone.

All the road from this temple of Diana to Anticyra is on the ascent. They say that the more ancient name of the city is Cypariſſus; and that Homer, in his catalogue of the Phocenses, chooses rather to call this city Cypariſſus than Anticyra; for then it began to be called Anticyra. They add, that Anticyreus was contemporary with Hercules. This city lies under the ruins of Medeon. In the beginning too of this account of the Phocensian affairs, I have shewn that Medeon was one of those cities that plundered the temple of Apollo. But the Anticyrans were driven from their country by Philip the son of Amyntas. Titus Flaminius, the commander of the Roman army, subverted their city a second time, because they adhered to Philip the son of Demetrius, and king of the Macedonians. But Titus was sent from Rome to assist the Athenians against Philip. The mountains which are above Anticyra are very rocky, and particularly abound with hellebore. And the black sort indeed is used by the inhabitans as a purgative;

but the other ſort, which is white, purifies by acting as an emetic. The Anticyrans likewiſe have brazen ſtatues in their forum. In their haven too they have a temple of Neptune of a moderate ſize, and which is built of choſen ſtones. The inward parts are of white plaſter. The ſtatue in this temple is of braſs, is in an upright poſition, and ſtands with one of its feet on a dolphin. One of its hands too is on its thigh, and with the other it holds a trident. They have beſides two gymnaſia. One of theſe contains baths; and in the other, which is at ſome diſtance from this, and is ancient, there is a brazen ſtatue. The inſcription on this ſtatue ſignifies, that it is the image of the pancratiaſt Xenodamus the Anticyran, who was victorious over men in the Olympic games. If this inſcription therefore is true, it muſt follow, that Xenodamus received the olive crown, in the two hundred and eleventh Olympiad, and that the Eleans have omitted to mention him alone, in their account of the victors in the games. Above the forum there is a fountain of water in a well: and a roof ſupported by pillars ſcreens this well from the ſun. A little beyond this well there is a monument raiſed from ſuch ſtones as were accidentally found. They ſay that the ſons of Iphitus are buried in this tomb; that one of theſe returned ſafe from Troy, and died in his own houſe; but that the other, Schedius, fell before Troy, and that his bones were brought hither.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXVII.

ON the right hand of the city, and about the diſtance of two ſtadia from it, there is a lofty rock, which is a part of a mountain. On this rock there is a temple of Diana; and the ſtatue of the goddeſs which it contains was made by Praxiteles. This ſtatue has a torch in its right hand, and a quiver depending from its ſhoulders; and a dog ſtands on its left ſide. The height too of the ſtatue ſurpaſſes that of any woman. A city likewiſe named Bulis borders on Phocis. This city was denominated from Bulon, who brought a colony hither from the cities of ancient Doris. The Bulidli form a part of the convention of Philomelus and the Phocenſes. There is a diſtance of eighty ſtadia from the Bœotian city Thiſbe to Bulis; but from Anticyra through the continent I do not know that there is any road; for between Anticyra and Bulis there are mountains which are both ſteep and rough. From Anticyra to the port, a diſtance of one hundred ſtadia intervenes. But from the port to Bulis, I conjecture the foot road is about ſeven ſtadia in length. A torrent in this part of the country falls into the ſea; and the natives call this torrent *Heracleios*, or *Herculean*. Bulis too is ſituated on an eminence, to ſuch as ſail from Anticyra to Lechæum, a promontory of the Corinthians. More than half the inhabitants here live by catching ſhell-fiſh for the dying of purple. But there are not any ornaments in Bulis which deſerve much admiration. They have however two temples, one of Diana, and the other of Bac-

chus; and the ſtatues which they contain are made of wood. Whom theſe were made by, I cannot by any means conjecture.

The Bulidii denominate that god, whom they venerate above all others, *the greateſt*: and in my opinion, this is an appellation of Jupiter. They have likewiſe a fountain which they call Saunion. But to Cirrha, which is a haven of the Delphi, there is a road from Delphos of ſixty ſtadia in length. When you deſcend into the plain, you will ſee a Hippodrome in which the equeſtrian Pythian games are celebrated. With reſpect to the Taraxippos in Olympia, I have related the particulars concerning it in my account of the Elean affairs. But in this Hippodrome of Apollo, the charioteers ſometimes meet with accidents that occaſion ſorrow, as the Dæmon in every undertaking diſtributes to men, ſometimes proſperous, and ſometimes adverſe events. However, in this Hippodrome there is nothing which terrifies the horſes, and the origin of which might be referred to the anger of ſome hero, or to ſome other cauſe. But the plain which commences from Cirrha is entirely deſtitute of trees, whether they are unwilling to plant any in it through a certain dire execration, or whether this ariſes from the inaptitude of the ſoil. They ſay that this city, which is called Cirrha at preſent, was thus denominated from the nymph Cirrha. However, Homer in the Iliad, and in his hymn to Apollo, calls this city by its ancient name Criſſa.

But in after times, when the inhabitants of Cirrha acted in other reſpects impiouſly towards Apollo, and laid waſte the country ſacred to the god, the Amphictyons thought proper to war on the Cirrhæans, choſe for the purpoſe Cliſthenes the Sicyonian tyrant for their general, and brought

brought Solon from Athens, that he might assist them by his councils. On their consulting the oracle too respecting the victory, the Pythian deity thus answered them: "You will not be able to subvert the tower of this city, till the waves of azure-eyed Amphitrite, sounding on the black deep, shall wash my grove." Solon therefore persuaded them to consecrate the Cirrhæan land to Apollo, so that the grove of the god might be near the sea. He likewise employed another stratagem against the Cirrhæans; for he turned the course of the river Plistus, which flowed into the city. When the inhabitants too of the city resisted their besiegers, drinking from wells, and collecting rain water, Solon threw some roots of hellebore into the Plistus; and, when he perceived that the water was sufficiently infected with the poison, turned the river again into its ancient channel. The Cirrhæans therefore, drinking greedily of the water, were afflicted with a violent flux, and were no longer able to guard the walls. In consequence of this the Amphictyons took the city, and punished the Cirrhæans for their impiety to the god. Then too Cirrha became the haven of the Delphi. This city likewise contains a temple of Apollo, Diana, and Latona; and in it there are large statues of Attic workmanship. In the same temple too there is a statue of Adrastia; but this is not so large as the other statues.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

BUT the land of those Locrians who are called Ozolæ is next to Phocis after Cirrha. I have heard different reports concerning the appellation of these Locrians. But

I will relate all that I have heard. When Oreſtheus the ſon of Deucalion reigned in this country, a bitch was delivered of a piece of wood, inſtead of a whelp. This piece of wood Oreſtheus buried in the ground; and they ſay, that in the following ſpring a vine was produced from it, and that from the wood of its *branches (ozoi)* the people were called *Ozolæ*. Others again ſay, that Neſſus, who carried the wife of Hercules over the river Evenus, did not immediately die of the wound which he received from Hercules, but fled to this country; that he died here; and that the air became noxious from the filthy odour of his dead body. There is likewiſe a third report, that a fœtid vapour was exhaled from the water of a certain river; and a fourth, that this country abounds with aſphodel, and that the ſmell of it was very predominant. It is alſo ſaid, that the firſt inhabitants of this place were *autochthones*, or *earth-born*; and that, in conſequence of their not having yet learnt to weave garments, they uſed to cover their bodies, as a defence from the cold, with the recent ſkins of wild beaſts; at the ſame time turning the hairy part of the hide outwards for the ſake of ornament. And hence the ſmell of their bodies neceſſarily reſembled that of the ſkins. But Amphiſſa is about one hundred and twenty ſtadia diſtant from Delphos, and is the largeſt and moſt celebrated city of the Delphi. The inhabitants of this city have joined themſelves to the Ætolians, in conſequence of being aſhamed of the name of the Ozolæ. Indeed, it is probable that Auguſtus Cæſar ſubverted the country of the Ætolians, in order to people Nicopolis, and that he cauſed a great part of them to migrate to Amphiſſa. However, theſe people originated from the Locrians; and their city (as they ſay) was denominated from

Amphiſſa,

Amphiſſa, the daughter of Macareus the ſon of Æolus, and who was beloved by Apollo.

This city is adorned with many excellent pieces of workmanſhip; but the monuments of Amphiſſa and Andræmon deſerve to be mentioned beyond all the reſt. They ſay that Gorge, the wife of Andræmon, and daughter of Oeneus, is buried here with Andræmon. But in the tower there is a temple of Minerva; and in it an erect brazen ſtatue. They ſay that this ſtatue was brought by Thoas from Troy, and that it belonged to the Trojan ſpoils. This however I cannot believe. For in the former part of this work, I have ſhewn that the Samians, Rhœcus the ſon of Philæus, and Theodorus the ſon of Telecles, were the firſt that found out the art of caſting braſs. But I have not yet been able to find any of the works of Theodorus which conſiſt of braſs. But in the temple of Epheſian Diana, as you approach to that cell which contains certain pictures, you will ſee above the altar of Diana, who is called Protothronia, a ſtone incloſure. Upon this incloſure there are other ſtatues, and an image of a woman near its extremity. This ſtatue was made by Rhœcus; and the Epheſians call it Night. The ſtatue therefore of Minerva in Amphiſſa is more ancient in its appearance, and the art diſplayed in its fabrication is leſs poliſhed. The Amphiſſenſes too celebrate the myſteries of the youths who are called *Anactes*. Of theſe gods there are various opinions. For, according to ſome, they are the Dioſcuri; according to others, the Curetes; and a ſtill greater number think that they are the Cabiri. Theſe Locrians too have other cities. Thus, above Amphiſſa, and towards the continent, is the city Myonia. This city is

distant from Amphissa thirty stadia, and the inhabitants dedicated a shield to Jupiter in Olympia. It is likewise situated in a lofty place, and contains a grove and altar of the gods called *Meilichioi*, or *the mild*. To these divinities they perform nocturnal sacrifices: and they consume the flesh of the victims in the place where they sacrifice before the sun rises. Above the city too there is a grove of Neptune; and this they call *Poseidonion*. In it there is a temple of Neptune; but it has not at present any statue. These people therefore dwell above Amphissa.

But Oeanthea borders on the sea, and in the neighbourhood of this city is Naupactus. All the other Locrian cities too, except Amphissa, are in subjection to the Patrenses, who were invested with this authority by the emperor Augustus. In this city Oeanthea there is a temple of Venus; and a little above the city there is a grove of cypress and pine-trees. In this grove there are a temple and statue of Diana. But the paintings on the walls are obliterated by time, so that not one of them remains for inspection. I conjecture, that the city was denominated from a woman or a nymph. For as to what pertains to Naupactus, I know it is reported, that the Dorienses, together with the sons of Aristomachus, built a fleet in this place for the purpose of sailing to Peloponnesus; and that from this circumstance the city was denominated. With respect to the Naupactians, how the Athenians gave the Messenians, who took up their residence in Ithome, when Sparta was shaken by an earthquake, Naupactus to inhabit, which they had taken from the Locrians; and how, after the slaughter of the Athenians at Ægospotamos, the Lacedæmonians expelled the Messenians from Naupactus

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—theſe particulars I have copiouſly related in my account of the Meſſenian affairs. The Meſſenians, therefore, being obliged to leave Naupactus, the Locrians again took poſſeſſion of it.

As to the verſes which the Greeks call Naupactia, they are commonly attributed to a Mileſian; but Charon the ſon of Pytheus ſays that they were compoſed by the Naupactian Carcinus: and this is our opinion on the ſubject. For how can it be reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that verſes upon women, compoſed by a Mileſian, ſhould be called Naupactian? But in Naupactus there is near the ſea a temple of Neptune; and in the temple there is an erect ſtatue of braſs. There is likewiſe a temple of Diana, which contains a ſtatue of white ſtone, in the attitude of diſcharging an arrow. They denominate the goddeſs Ætola. Venus too is honoured in a cavern: and they pray to this goddeſs on other occaſions; but widows in particular requeſt of her, that they may be again married. As to the temple of Æſculapius, it is nothing but ruins. But at firſt it was built by a private man, whoſe name was Phalyſius. For it happened, that when his eyes were ſo diſeaſed that he was almoſt blind, the god who is worſhipped in Epidaurus ſent to him Anyte, a woman renowned for compoſing verſes, with a letter. Anyte dreamt that ſhe received this letter, but, when ſhe awoke, found it in her hands ſealed. She therefore ſailed to Naupactus, and ordered Phalyſius to break the ſeal, and read its contents. And at firſt, indeed, he thought it was not poſſible for him to read the letter, as his eyes were in ſuch a diſeaſed condition; but hoping that it might be

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the means of procuring him ſome aſſiſtance from Æſculapius, he at length opened it, was immediately cured of his malady, and gave Anyte two thouſand pieces of gold, called *ſtateres*, which was the ſum ſpecified in the letter.

NOTES

NOTES

ON THE

FIRST VOLUME.

Page 2. *AND Jupiter is ſeen holding a ſceptre, and victory.*] Jupiter is every where called by Homer as well as Orpheus, "*the father of gods and men, ruler and king, and the ſupreme of rulers,* ὑπατον κρειοντων." On account therefore of his *commanding* or *ruling* characteriſtic, he is very properly repreſented with a ſceptre, which is certainly an obvious ſymbol of command. The ſymbol of victory likewiſe juſtly belongs to him, on account of his all-ſubduing power, which vanquiſhes all mundane oppoſition, and cauſes the war of the univerſe to terminate in peace. Proclus on the Cratylus informs us, that his ſceptre according to Orpheus was twenty-four meaſures in length, by which, ſays he, the theologiſt ſignifies his eſtabliſhing thoſe two divine orders, the celeſtial and ſuperceleſtial, and his reigning over two ſeries of gods, each of which is characteriſed by the number twelve. ἡ γαρ διτλας υφιςησι διακοσμους, τον τε ουρανιον, καὶ τον υπερουρανιον. ὁθεν αὐτου καὶ το σκηπτρον εἰναι φησιν ο θεολογος πηχυων και εικοσι μιξεων, ως διτλων ἀρχοντος δυοδικαδων. I only add farther at preſent, that Jupiter, according to his firſt ſubſiſtence, is the Demiurgus or artificer of the world, and that he is received from thence into all the following orders of gods. Hence, there are various Jupiters who preſide over the different parts of the univerſe, and all of whom are ſuſpended from the firſt Jupiter the Demiurgus, ſo as to form various links of that divine chain, which, on account of its *incorruptible nature*, is beautifully called by Homer *a golden* chain.

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The ſame muſt be underſtood of every other divinity, conſidered according to his higheſt ſubſiſtence; viz. that various other divinities of the ſame characteriſtic proceed from him into the parts of the world: and if the reader carefully attends to this theory, when he reads Homer, or the fables of any other ancient theological poet, and is able to apply it properly, he will find that the theology of the ancients is founded in a theory no leſs beautifully connected than aſtoniſhingly profound; no leſs enchanting than ſcientific; no leſs true than marvellous and myſtic. See more concerning this moſt important ſubject, in my Notes on the Cratylus, and Introduction to the Parmenides of Plato; in my Tranſlation of Salluſt on the Gods and the World; and of the Emperor Julian's Oration to the Sun, and to the Mother of the Gods.

Page 4. *The goddeſſes called Genetyllides.*] The Scholiaſt upon Ariſtophanes informs us that *Genetyllis* is an epithet of *Venus*, and that ſhe is ſo called becauſe ſhe preſides over the *generation* of animals. Perhaps therefore, as there are two Venuſes, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, the Genetyllides are theſe two.

Page 6. *And of Iacchus holding a torch.*] There is great propriety in repreſenting Iacchus or Bacchus with a torch; for Bacchus is *the mundane intellect*; and fire with the ancients was very properly conſidered as a ſymbol of *intellect*, from its tending upwards.

Page 6.—*and this Bacchus they call Melpomenos.*] The Orphic theologiſts, as I have ſhewn in p. 101 of the Diſſertation prefixed to my Tranſlation of Orpheus's Hymns, called the intellect of each of the celeſtial ſpheres, by ſome one of the appellations of Bacchus, and the ſoul, or animating part of the ſphere, by the name of one of the Muſes. Agreeably to this, in the orb of the ſun, they called the *intellective part*, *Trietericus Bacchus*, and the *animating part Melpomene*. But as the intellect and ſoul of the ſun, and ſo of every other orb, form one divine nature, from their admirable union with each other, the intellect of this ſphere may be juſtly called

called *Melpomenos*: and it would be by no means improper to call the animating part *Trieteric*.

Page 7. *They report indeed, that the father of Erichthonius, &c.*] The fables of the ancients are, in their ſecret meaning, utility and conſtruction, the moſt beautiful and admirable pieces of compoſition which the mind of man is capable of framing, though nothing has been ſo little underſtood, or ſo ſhamefully abuſed. Of the truth of this obſervation, the reader whoſe mind has been enlightened by true ſcience will be fully convinced by the following explanation drawn from ancient ſources of the fable alluded to by Pauſanias in this part. Previous to which it will be proper to obſerve, that the firſt cauſe, according to the Pythagorean and Platonic philoſophers, on account of his tranſcendent ſimplicity, was called *the one*, this name being adapted the beſt of all others to a nature truly ineffable and unknown. But it is impoſſible that ſuch a nature could produce this viſible world without mediums, ſince, if this had been the caſe, all things muſt have been like himſelf, natures ineffable and unknown. It is neceſſary, therefore, that there ſhould be certain mighty powers between the firſt cauſe and us: for we in reality are nothing more than the dregs of the univerſe. Theſe mighty powers, from their ſurpaſſing ſimilitude to the firſt god, were very properly called by the ancients gods; and were conſidered by them as perpetually ſubſiſting in the moſt admirable and profound union with each other, and the firſt cauſe; yet ſo, as amidſt this union to preſerve their own eſſence diſtinct from that of the higheſt god. Hence, as Proclus beautifully obſerves, they may be compared to trees rooted in the earth: for as theſe, by their roots, are united with the earth, and become earthly in an eminent degree without being earth itſelf; ſo the gods by their ſummits are profoundly united to the firſt cauſe, and by this means are tranſcendently ſimilar to without being the firſt cauſe.

But theſe mighty powers are called by the poets a *golden chain*, on account of their connection with each other, and incorruptible

tible nature. Now the first of these powers you may call *intellectual*; the second *vivific*; the third *Pæonian*, and so on, which the ancients, desiring to signify to us by names, have symbolically denominated. Hence, says Olympiodorus in MS. Comment. in Gorgiam, we ought not to be disturbed on hearing such names as a Saturnian power, the power Jupiter, and such-like; but explore the things to which they allude. Thus for instance, by a Saturnian power rooted in the first cause, understand a pure intellect: for Κρονος or Saturn is κορος νους, i. e. ὁ κεκαθαρμενος, or, a *pure intellect*. Hence, says Olympiodorus, we call those that are pure and virgins, κοραι. He adds, On this account poets * say, that Saturn devoured his children, and afterwards, again sent them into the light, because intellect is converted to itself, seeks itself, and is itself fought: but he again refunds them, because intellect not only seeks, and procreates, but produces into light and profits. On this account, too, he is called αγκυλομητης, or *inflected counsel*, because an inflected figure verges to itself. Again, as there is nothing disordered and novel in intellect, they represent Saturn as an old man, and as slow in his motion: and hence it is that astrologers say, that such as have Saturn well situated in their nativity are prudent and endued with intellect.

Again, the ancient theologists called life by the name of Jupiter, to whom they gave a two-fold appellation Δια and ζηνα, signifying by these names, that he gives *life through* himself. Farther still they assert that the Sun is drawn by four horses, and that he is perpetually young, signifying by this his power, which is motive of the whole of nature subject to his dominion, his fourfold conversions, and the vigour of his energies. But they say that the Moon is drawn by two bulls: by *two*, on account of her increase and diminution; but by *bulls*, because as these till the ground, so the Moon governs all those parts which surround the earth.

* This is asserted by Hesiod in his Theogony.

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This being premiſed, as a ſpecimen of the manner in which fables are to be underſtood, let us conſider the meaning of that to which Pauſanias alludes. According to the fable, then, Vulcan falling in love with Minerva, emitted his ſeed on the earth, and from hence ſprang the race of the Athenians. By Vulcan, therefore, we muſt underſtand that divine power which preſides over the ſpermatic and phyſical reaſons which the univerſe contains: for whatever Nature accompliſhes by verging towards bodies, the ſame Vulcan performs in a divine and exempt manner, by moving Nature, and uſing her as an inſtrument in his own proper fabrication: for natural heat has a Vulcanian characteriſtic, and was produced by Vulcan for the purpoſe of fabricating a corporeal nature. Vulcan, therefore, is that power which perpetually preſides over the fluctuating nature of bodies: and hence, ſays Olympiodorus, he operates with bellows (εν φυσαις), which occultly ſignifies his operating in natures (αντι του εν ταις φυσεσι). But by *earth* we muſt underſtand *matter*, which was thus ſymbolically denominated by the ancients, as we learn from Porphyry de Antr. Nymph. By Minerva we muſt underſtand the ſummit κορυφη of all thoſe intellectual natures that reſide in Jupiter, the artificer of the world: or, in other words, ſhe is that deity which illuminates all mundane natures with intelligence. The Athen. . therefore, who are ſouls of a Minerval characteriſtic, may be very properly ſaid to be the progeny of Vulcan and the Earth, becauſe Vulcan, who perpetually imitates the intellectual energy of Minerva in his fabrication of the ſenſible univerſe, imparts to them through this imitation *thoſe vehicles*, and *thoſe ſpermatic reaſons* through which, in conjunction with *matter*, they become inhabitants of this terreſtrial abode. And thus much for the fable alluded to by Pauſanias. For farther information on the moſt intereſting ſubjects diſcuſſed in this note, ſee my tranſlation of the Cratylus, Phædo, Parmenides and Timæus of Plato; my Diſſertation on the Eleuſinian and Bacchic Myſteries; my Tranſlation of Salluſt on the Gods

Gods and the World; and of the Emperor Julian's Oration to the Sun, and to the Mother of the Gods.

Page 9. *Apollo, whom they denominate Alexicacus.*] Apollo is *Alexicacus*, or the disperser of evil, through the divinity *Pæan*, whom he contains in his essence, as is evident from the following lines in the beautiful hymn of Proclus to the Sun:

Σης δ' απο μειλιχοδωρος αλεξικακου θιασειης
Παιηων βλαστησεν, ενη δ' επετασσεν υγειην,
Πλησας αρμονιης παναπημονος ευρεα κοσμον.

i. e.

"From thy bland dance, *repelling deadly ill*,
Salubrious *Pæan* blossoms into light,
Health far diffusing, and th' extended world
With streams of harmony innoxious fills."

Page 10. *The daughters of the Sun are said to have bewailed the misfortune of their brother Phaeton.*] The following explanation is given by the Platonic philosophy of the well known fable of Phaeton. Phaeton signifies a comet, by which considerable parts of the earth are at times destroyed. But he is said to be the offspring of the Sun, because a comet, according to the Platonists, is a sublunary body, consisting of a collection of dry vapours, raised and set on fire by the Sun. He is likewise said to have desired the government of the chariot of the Sun, because a comet desires to imitate the circular motion of the Sun. He did not keep the track observed by his parent, because a comet does not move in a direction parallel to that of the Sun. He was blasted by thunder through the anger of Jupiter, because this comet was extinguished by moist vapours. On this account he is said to have fallen into the river Eridanus, because the comet was extinguished through moisture. He was lamented by the Heliades, because the vapour proceeding from the dissolution of

the comet flowed downwards, being of a watry nature, and in this reſpect correſponding to tears. The Heliades were changed into poplar trees, becauſe a juice diſtills from the poplar tree ſimilar to amber; and amber has a golden ſplendour; and gold is dedicated to the Sun. The fable therefore obſcurely ſignifies that the juice of the poplar tree is produced from moiſture ſimilar to that which was produced by the diſſolution of the comet.

Page 13. *It is related by Herodotus*] Herodotus in Terpſich.] informs us, that it was Cliſthenes the Athenian, of the family of the Alcmæonidæ, who divided the four Athenian tribes into ten.

Page 32. *And took care that globular veſſels, &c.*] Many of the preſent day are of opinion, that the ſhips of the ancients were of a very inconſiderable ſize, though a ſmall degree of reflection muſt convince every unprejudiced mind, that ſhips which contained many banks of rowers, and great quantities of armed men, muſt have been very large veſſels. But the following account of a ſhip conſtructed by Ptolemy Philopater, from Plutarch in his Life of that great commander Demetrius, abundantly proves the truth of what I have advanced. "Before the time of Demetrius, ſays he, there had not been ſeen a galley with *fifteen or ſixteen banks of oars*. But after Demetrius, Ptolemy Philopater built a prodigious galley of *eighty banks of oars*. It was two hundred and eighty cubits in length. Its height from the water to the top of the ſtern was forty-eight cubits. It had *four hundred mariners*, and *four thouſand rowers*: and beſides all this, there was convenient ſtanding for nearly *three thouſand ſoldiers* to fight above the decks." It is true that Plutarch adds, this unwieldy hulk was only fit for ſhew, and not for ſervice; but it affords a very convincing proof, that the ancients had conceptions of framing much larger ſhips than any of the preſent time; and it appears to me, that the ſixteen-oared galleys of Demetrius, mentioned by Plutarch, muſt have been at *leaſt* as large as our firſt rate men of war. The reader may ſee a large and very en-

tertaining deſcription of this ſhip, though widely different in ſome particulars from the above account, in Athenæus, lib. 6. cap. 5.

Page 34. *But the truth of this is confirmed by Homer, &c.*] It is not however the Epirots that Homer alludes to, by a people unacquainted with the ſea, and who knew not the uſe of ſalt: but as, in the perſon of Ulyſſes, Homer has beautifully repreſented to us the image of one who paſſes in a regular manner from a ſenſible to an intellectual life, he very properly deſcribes him, after having braved the ſtorms of the ocean, or the dangers and difficulties attending a life ſubordinate to that of intellect, as deſtined to arrive among a people to whom the ſea was unknown, or, in other words, to live a life wholly intellectual and divine. As Pauſanias therefore was pious, but without philoſophy, he could not have any conception of the concealed philoſophical meaning of Homer in the fable of Ulyſſes. See more concerning this, in my tranſlation of, and notes to, Porphyry's Cave of the Nymphs, in vol. ii. of Proclus on Euclid.

Page 37. *Pyrrhus received a wound in his head.*] It appears from Livy, l. 29. c. 18. and Plutarch in Pyrrho, that Pyrrhus was ſlain in this manner, as a juſt puniſhment for his impiety in plundering the treaſuries of the temple of Proſerpine.

Page 39. *It was my intention, indeed, &c.*] It is a circumſtance remarkably ſingular, that the Pythagorean philoſopher Numenius was, as well as Pauſanias, deterred by a dream from diſcloſing the Eleuſinian myſteries. Before the extinction of the genuine religion of mankind, indeed, and the introduction of *gigantic impiety*, it muſt have been highly improper to unfold theſe myſteries to all men: but when *deluſive faith* ſucceeded to *ſcientific theology*, and *divine* myſtery was no more, it then became neceſſary to reveal this moſt holy and auguſt inſtitution. This appears to have been done by the latter Platoniſts: and from ſome important paſſages which fortunately yet remain in the manuſcript Commentaries of theſe great men on Plato, I have been

been enabled to unfold the leading particulars of this intereſting affair. Theſe particulars the reader may find in my *Diſſertation on the Eleuſinian and Bacchic Myſteries.*

Page 41. *Near this is the temple of Celeſtial Venus.*] The Celeſtial Venus (for there are two Venuſes, as is well known) is that divine power which collects together the different genera of things, according to one deſire of beauty. She is therefore very properly ſaid to derive her ſubſiſtence from the prolific power of Heaven: for Heaven, as I have ſhewn in my notes on the Cratylus, compoſes that order of gods which is called by the Chaldæan Theologiſts νοητος και νοερος, i. e. *intelligible and at the ſame time intellectual*; which corresponds to *intelligence*; and is wholly of *a containing and connective nature.* "But the ſecond Venus, ſays Proclus (in Schol. MSS. in Cratylum), Jupiter produces from his own generative powers, in conjunction with Dione: and this goddeſs likewiſe proceeds from foam, after the ſame manner with the more ancient Venus, as Orpheus evinces. But theſe goddeſſes differ from each other, according to the cauſes of their production, their orders and their powers. For ſhe that proceeds from the genitals of Heaven is ſupermundane, leads upwards to intelligible beauty, is the ſupplier of an unpolluted life, and ſeparates from generation. But the Venus that proceeds from Dione governs all the co-ordinations in the celeſtial world and the earth, binds them to each other, and perfects their generative progreſſions, through a kindred conjunction. Theſe divinities too are united with each other, through a ſimilitude of ſubſiſtence: for they both proceed from generative powers; one from that of the containing power of Heaven, and the other from that of Jupiter the artificer of the world." He adds, "that by the ſea we muſt underſtand an expanded and circumſcribed life; by its profundity, the univerſally-extended progreſſion of ſuch a life; and by the foam, the greateſt purity of nature, that which is full of prolific light and power, that which ſwims upon all life, and is as it were its higheſt flower."

It is remarkable that, according to the firſt of theſe paſſages, the ſecond Venus was produced from foam in the ſame manner as the firſt, as Proclus proves from the authority of the Orphic writings: for this information is not to be gathered from any other writer that I am acquainted with. Nor need it ſeem ſtrange, that this ſhould be mentioned by no ancient author prior to Proclus: for before the eſtabliſhment of the Chriſtian religion, the Orphic writings were deſervedly held in ſuch great veneration, from containing the ceremonies of a mode of worſhip *coeval with the univerſe*, that the leſs myſtic parts of them were but ſeldom cited, and the moſt myſtic, not at all. As Proclus, therefore, was the man that unfolded the theology and philoſophy of the Greeks in the moſt conſummate perfection, and this at a period when the ancient religion was almoſt entirely extirpated, and the Orphic writings were conſidered as ſacred but by a few, we cannot wonder at meeting with this, and much ſimilar information in the works of this incomparable man.

Page 46. *They aſſert that he was once bound by Pluto, &c.*] It appears to me, that the great confuſion and abſurdity with which modern explanations of the fables of the ancients are replete, may be aſcribed to the two following cauſes: the want of ability to diſtinguiſh in the ſame perſon, hiſtory from fable; and ignorance of the ſecret meaning of ancient fable. Thus, in the preſent inſtance, moſt of the moderns would, I am perſuaded, conſider this ſtory about Theſeus, as at bottom merely hiſtorical, though it is in fact one of thoſe ancient fables which are replete with the moſt philoſophical and myſtic information. At preſent, indeed, it does not ſeem to be even ſuſpected by any one, that the theology of the Greeks, when viewed in its genuine purity, is a thing the moſt ſublime and ſcientific that the mind of man can poſſibly deviſe; and that conſequently, as the Grecian fables are the progeny of this theology, they cannot fail of being remarkably ſcientific and ſublime. That the reader therefore, whoſe mental eye is not ſo darkened by oblivion, as to exclude

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all poſſibility of *recovering* the uſe of it, in the preſent life, may be convinced of the truth of the preceding obſervations, let him attend to the following information derived from the philoſophy of Pythagoras and Plato.

There are three orders of ſouls which are the perpetual attendants of the gods. The firſt of theſe orders angels compoſe; the ſecond, dæmons; and the third, heroes. But as there is no vacuum either in incorporeal or corporeal natures, but on the contrary profound union, it is neceſſary, in order to accompliſh this, that the laſt link of a ſuperior order ſhould coaleſce with the ſummit of one proximately inferior. Hence therefore, between *eſſential* heroes, who perpetually attend the gods, and are conſequently impaſſive and pure, and the bulk of human ſouls who deſcend with paſſivity and impurity, it is neceſſary there ſhould be an order of human ſouls, who deſcend with impaſſivity and purity. Theſe ſouls were called by the ancients with great propriety Heroes, on account of their high degree of proximity and alliance to ſuch as are eſſentially Heroes. Hercules, Theſeus, Pythagoras, Plato, &c. were ſouls of this kind, who deſcended into generation both to benefit other ſouls, and in compliance with that neceſſity by which all natures inferior to the perpetual attendants of the gods are at times obliged to deſcend. The characteriſtics of theſe heroic ſouls are, grandeur of action, elevation, and magnificence: and Plato in his Laws ſays, that we ought to venerate them, and perform funeral ſacrifices in honour of their memory. They are too of an undefiled nature when compared with other human ſouls, than whom they are likewiſe far more intellectual. They have much of an elevated nature, and which is properly liberated from an inclination to matter. Hence they are eaſily led back to the intelligible world, in which they live for many periods; while, on the contrary, the moſt irrational kind of ſouls are either never led back, or this is accompliſhed with great difficulty, or continues for a very inconſiderable period of time.

But as every god beginning from on high produces his proper ſeries as far as to the laſt of things, and this ſeries comprehends many eſſences different from each other, ſuch as Angelical, Dæmoniacal, Heroical, Nymphical, and the like, the loweſt powers of theſe orders have a great communion and phyſical ſympathy with the human race, and contribute to the perfection of all their natural operations, and particularly to their procreations. As theſe heroic ſouls too have a two-fold form of life, viz. *opinionative* and *cogitative*, the former of which is called by Plato in the Timæus *the circle of difference*, and the latter, *the circle of ſameneſs*, and which are characteriſed by the properties of *male* and *female*;—hence theſe ſouls at one time exhibit a deiform power, by energizing according to the maſculine prerogative of their nature, or the circle of ſameneſs, and at another time according to their feminine prerogative, or the circle of difference; yet ſo, as that according to both theſe energies they act with rectitude, and without merging themſelves in the darkneſs of body. They likewiſe know the natures prior to their own, and exerciſe a providential care over inferior concerns, without at the ſame time having that propenſity to ſuch concerns which is found in the bulk of mankind. But the ſouls which act erroneouſly according to the energies of both theſe circles, or which, in other words, neither exhibit accurate ſpecimens of practical or intellectual virtue—theſe differ in no reſpect from *gregarious* ſouls, or the herd of mankind, with whom the circle of ſameneſs is fettered, and the circle of difference ſuſtains all-various fractures and diſtortions.

As it is impoſſible, therefore, that theſe heroic ſouls can act with equal vigour and perfection, according to both theſe circles at once, as this is the province of natures more divine than the human, it is neceſſary that they muſt ſometimes deſcend and energize principally according to their opinionative part, and ſometimes according to their more intellectual part. Hence, one of theſe circles muſt energize naturally, and the other be hinder-

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ed from its proper energy, On this account Heroes are called ἡμίθεοι Demigods, as having only one of their circles illuminated by the gods. Such of theſe, therefore, as have the circle of ſameneſs unfettered, as are rouſed to an elevated life, and are moved about it, according to a deific energy—theſe are ſaid to have a god for their father, and a mortal for their mother, through a defect with reſpect to the opinionative form of life. But ſuch, on the contrary, as energize without impediment according to the circle of difference, who act with becoming rectitude in practical affairs, and at the ſame time *enthuſiaſtically*, or, in other words, under the inſpiring influence of divinity—theſe are ſaid to have a mortal for their father, and a goddeſs for their mother. And in ſhort, rectitude of energy in each of theſe circles is to be aſcribed to a divine cauſe, which illuminates, invigorates and excites them in the moſt unreſtrained and impaſſive manner, without deſtroying freedom of energy, in the circles themſelves, or cauſing any partial affection, ſympathy or tendency in illuminating deity. When the circle of ſameneſs, therefore, has dominion, the divine cauſe of illumination is ſaid to be maſculine and paternal; but when the circle of difference predominates, it is ſaid to be maternal. Hence Achilles acts with rectitude in practical affairs, and at the ſame time exhibits ſpecimens of magnificent, vehement, and divinely-inſpired energy, as being the ſon of a goddeſs. And ſuch is his attachment to practical virtue, that even when in Hades, Homer repreſents him as deſiring a union with body, that he may aſſiſt his father. While on the contrary Minos and Rhadamanthus, who were heroes illuminated by Jupiter, raiſed themſelves from generation to true being, and meddled with mortal concerns no farther than abſolute neceſſity required.

Theſeus therefore, who as well as Hercules was a hero, who energized principally according to an intellectual life, and who was a lover of both intelligible and ſenſible beauty, may be ſaid to have been bound by Pluto, while he was united with body, be-

cauſe every thing ſublunary is under the dominion of this god; and to have been liberated by Hercules, becauſe through his aſſiſtance he was led from a ſenſible to an intellectual life, which has the ſame relation to a corporeal life, as the light of day to the darkneſs of night.

Page 46. *But it appears to me, that Homer, &c.*] We ſhould rather ſay that Homer derived his knowledge reſpecting the ſouls in Hades, and the names of the infernal rivers which it contains, from the myſtic traditions of Orpheus, who inſtituted the religion of Greece, and that the rivers called Acheron and Cocytus in Cichyrus were denominated from their ſimilitude to thoſe of the ſame name in Hades. But the reader muſt not ſuppoſe that the infernal rivers deſcribed by Homer are nothing more than the paradoxical ſports of poetical fancy; but, as Proclus on Plato's Republic beautifully obſerves, it is proper to believe, that for thoſe who require chaſtiſement and purification, ſubterranean places are prepared, which, from their receiving the various defluxions of the elements above the earth, are called rivers by mythologiſts, and are filled with dæmons who preſide over ſouls, and who are of an avenging, puniſhing, purifying, and judicial characteriſtic. Hence, ſays he, the poetry of Homer is not to be condemned, when it calls the infernal region a place

"Horrid and dark, and odious to the gods."

For the variety and imagination of the preſiding dæmons excite all this obſcurity and horror. I only add, that Acheron is a place adapted to the purgation of care and ſorrow, and which alſo correſponds to air and the meridional part of the world; but that Cocytus together with Styx correſpond to earth and the weſtern centre, and puniſh hatred, through lamentations and grief. See more on this ſubject, in my Introduction to the Phædo of Plato.

Page 49. *Olen.*] Olen was a Lycian poet, and compoſed hymns in honour of Apollo at Delos,

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Page 51. *That Celeſtial Venus is the eldeſt of thoſe divinities who are called the Parcæ.*] We have already obſerved, that there are two Venuſes, one *ſupermundane*, the other *mundane*. The firſt of theſe is the *Celeſtial* Venus mentioned in this place by Pauſanias, as the eldeſt of the Parcæ, though according to the Orphic hymn to this goddeſs, and which I have no doubt is the truth, ſhe is *the ruler of the Fates*: for the Hymn ſays και κρατεις τριτσων μοιρων, "*thou governeſt the three Fates.*"

Page 52. *And the temple of Diana the huntreſs.*] The ſphere of the Moon is, as is well known, attributed to the goddeſs Diana: and this divinity, as we are informed by Proclus in Tim. p. 260, "*is the cauſe of nature to mortals, as ſhe is the ſelf-conſpicuous image of fontal Nature.*" Σελην μεν αιτιαν τοις θνητοις της φυσεως, το αυτοπτον αγαλμα ουσα της πηγαιας φυσεως. As the Moon therefore is the cauſe of the exiſtence of all natural life, ſo likewiſe of its diſſolution: for the natural life which ſhe imparts to all animals and plants, brings with it a limited duration, and, when the period of its exiſtence is accompliſhed, returns to this divinity as its fountain. Hence Diana is very properly repreſented as a huntreſs: for through certain unapparent powers reſident in the rays of the Moon, of which arrows are an image, ſhe takes away, or, in other words, receives back again, the natural life which ſhe gave.

Page 54. *Bacchus leading Vulcan back to heaven.*] The meaning of this beautiful fable appears to me to be as follows: Vulcan, as we have already obſerved, is that divine power which preſides over the ſpermatic and phyſical reaſons of the univerſe; or, in other words, which by uſing nature as an inſtrument, produces all the bodies which the univerſe contains. Juno is the inſpective guardian of all motion and progreſſion. Hence ſhe is ſaid to have hurled Vulcan from heaven, becauſe ſhe is the cauſe of Vulcan's prolific progreſſion to the extremity of things, and of his being every where preſent with his productions in the moſt unreſtrained manner—in a manner, by which this progreſſion, continually

tinually ſuſpended from its proper principle, pervades through every order. But the golden throne which Vulcan ſends to Juno, is that vehicle depending on the goddeſs, and from illuminating which ſhe has a mundane eſtabliſhment: and the unapparent bonds which it contains are thoſe vital connectives by which ſoul becomes united with body. Theſe bonds are ſaid to be fixed in the throne by Vulcan, becauſe this deity is ſuperior to Juno, conſidered according to her mundane eſtabliſhment. All the gods except Bacchus were unable to perſuade Vulcan to free Juno from her bonds; becauſe Bacchus, or the mundane intellect, is the monad or proximately exempt producing cauſe of the ultimate progreſſions of all the gods; and hence Vulcan, conſidered according to his laſt proceſſion, is ſuſpended from Bacchus, by whom at the ſame time he is converted on high. Hence Bacchus is ſaid to have led him back to heaven: but it is added, by means of intoxication; i. e. by deific intelligence, through which every inferior deity is converted to deities of a ſuperior characteriſtic, and all the gods become abſorbed in the ineffable principle of all things. Laſtly, by Vulcan freeing Juno from her bonds, nothing more is meant than, that this goddeſs according to her mundane eſtabliſhment receives a power from Vulcan, through which while ſhe illuminates with a divine light her depending vehicle, ſhe is at the ſame time exempt from all inclination and paſſive affection towards the ſubject of her illuminations: and the ſame reaſoning muſt be applied to every mundane divinity.

Page 56. *Gave that oracle concerning the bladder.*] This oracle is preſerved by Plutarch in his life of Theſeus, and is thus, except in the laſt line, tranſlated by Langhorn:

> From royal ſtems thy honour, Theſeus, ſprings,
> By Jove belov'd, the ſire ſupreme of kings.
> See riſing towns, ſee wide-extended ſtates,
> On thee dependent, aſk their future fates!
> Hence, hence with fear! Thy favour'd bark ſhall ride,
> Safe, like a bladder, o'er the foamy tide.

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Page 57. *And that Bacchus himſelf appeared as their leader.*] The following Platonic dogma, which belongs to the greateſt arcana of ancient Wiſdom, ſolves all that appears to be ſo abſurd and ridiculous to the atheiſtical and ſuperficial in ſuch-like hiſtorical relations as the preſent. Every deity beginning from on high, produces his own proper ſeries to the laſt of things; and this ſeries comprehends in itſelf many eſſences differing from each other. Thus, for inſtance, the Sun produces *Angelical, Demoniacal, Heroical, Nymphical, Panical,* and ſuch-like powers, each of which ſubſiſts according to a ſolar characteriſtic: and the ſame reaſoning muſt be applied to every other divinity. All theſe powers are the perpetual attendants of the Gods, but they have not all of them an eſſence *wholly* ſuperior to man. For after *eſſential* Heroes an order of ſouls follows, who proximately govern the affairs of men, and are dæmoniacal κατα σχεσιν, *according to habitude or alliance,* but not eſſentially. Of this kind are the Nymphs that ſympathize with waters, Pans with the feet of goats, and the like: and they differ from thoſe powers that are eſſentially of a dæmoniacal characteriſtic, in this, that they aſſume a variety of ſhapes (each of the others immutably preſerving one form), are ſubject to various paſſions, and are the cauſes of all-various deception to mankind. Proclus in Schol. MSS. in Cratylum obſerves, that the Minerva which ſo often appeared to Ulyſſes and Telemachus was of this latter kind. οτι εισι και πανες τραγοσκελεις, και αθηναϊκαι ψυχαι σχημασι ποικιλοις χρωμεναι, και προσεχως υπερ τους ανθρωπους πολιτευομεναι. οια ην η αθηνα η τω οδυσσει, και τω τελεμαχω φανεισα. i. e. "There are Pans with the feet of goats, and Minerval ſouls aſſuming a variety of ſhapes, and proximately governing mankind; ſuch as was the Minerva that appeared to Ulyſſes and Telemachus." The Bacchus therefore, that appeared to the Lacedæmonians in the war mentioned by Pauſanias, muſt be conſidered as belonging to one of the orders of thoſe powers we have juſt enumerated.

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Page 61. *Theſeus, when he departed to ſlay the Minotaur*] The explanation given by the moderns of the Minotaur, and the other parts of the fable to which it belongs, is as abſurd and foreign from the truth, as any of their ſolutions of ancient fables. "I ſhall make it appear (ſays the Abbé Banier* with all the *lawleſs levity* of a Frenchman, and in the true ſpirit of a Catholic divine) that the *Minotaur*, with *Paſiphae*, and the reſt of that fable, contain nothing but an intrigue of the queen of Crete with a captain named Taurus; and the artifice of Dædalus only a ſly confident." And in this impudent manner he explains the moſt celebrated fables of antiquity. It is true indeed, that my own countrymen are at preſent unacquainted with the divine wiſdom of the ancients; but I do not know of any Engliſh writer that has attempted to explain the Grecian fables in a manner ſo impertinent, trifling, and abſurd. Surely every thinking mind muſt unite with me in acknowledging, that if the ancients intended to conceal in their fables nothing more than what Banier preſents us with, their fables are far more puerile than the riddles compoſed by the ingenious Mr. Newbery for children. Lord Bacon, though far from penetrating the profound meaning of the ancients in theſe fables, ſaw enough to be convinced that they were replete with the higheſt wiſdom of which he had any conception; and has done all in attempting to unfold them that great genius without the aſſiſtance of *genuine philoſophy* is able to effect. But the moſt piercing ſagacity, the moſt brilliant wit, and the moſt exquiſite ſubtilty of thought, without this aſſiſtance, are here of no avail.

It is indeed eaſy for ingenious men to give an explanation of an ancient fable, which to the ſuperficial obſerver ſhall appear to be the preciſe meaning which its inventor deſigned to convey, though it be in reality very far from the truth. This may be eaſily accounted for by conſidering, that all fables are images of

* Vol. i. of the tranſlation of his Mythology, p. 29.

truths,

truths, but thoſe of the ancients, of truths with which but few are acquainted. Hence, like pictures of unknown perſons, they become the ſubjects of endleſs conjecture and abſurd opinion, from the ſimilitude which every one *fancies* he diſcovers in them to objects with which he has been for a long time familiar. He who underſtands the explanations given by the Platonic philoſophers of theſe fables will ſubſcribe to the truth of this obſervation, as it is impoſſible that theſe interpretations could ſo wonderfully harmonize with the external or apparent meaning of the fables, without being the true explanations of their latent ſenſe. But to return to the fable in queſtion. Olympiodorus in his MS. Commentary on the Gorgias of Plato, beautifully unfolds moſt of it as follows: "The *Minotaur* ſignifies the ſavage paſſions which our nature contains. The *thread* which Ariadne gave to Theſeus, a certain divine power conjoined with our nature. And the *labyrinth*, the obliquity and abundant variety of life. Theſeus therefore, being one of the moſt excellent characters, vanquiſhed this impediment, and freed others together with himſelf." ο μεν γαρ μινωΐαυρος τα ενημιν θηριωδη παθη σημαινει. ο δε μίλος, θειαν τινα δυναμιν εξηρτημενην. ο δε λαβυρινθος το σκολιον και πολυ ποικιλον του βιου. ο τοινυν θησευς αριςος ων, καθεκρατησεν, αλλα και αλλοις πεμφθεισας μεθ' αυτου.

Page 62. *For there is nothing extant of Muſæus, &c.*] Unfortunately, at preſent, not one of the works of the ancient Muſæus is extant: for it is well known to all the learned, that the little poem entitled, *The Loves of Hero and Leander* was compoſed by a grammarian of a much later age than that of Muſæus.

Page 64. *Hygia, who they report is the daughter of Æſculapius.*] *Hygia*, or Health, in the Orphic hymn to Æſculapius, is called the wife of Æſculapius. But this is by no means diſcordant with what Pauſanias aſſerts: for a communion of energies among divine natures was called by ancient theologiſts ιερος γαμος, or a ſacred marriage. Hence, Health, conſidered as proceeding from

from Æſculapius, may be called his daughter, and, as communicating with him in divine energies, his wife.

Page 64. *When Bacchus firſt came into Attica.*] The reader muſt be careful to remember, that the Bacchus here mentioned was one of thoſe heroes of whom we have given an account in the note to p. 46; and that he was called Bacchus becauſe he deſcended from the deity of that name.

Page 67. *Hercules, according to the fable, ſtrangling the Dragons.*] I have already obſerved concerning Hercules, that he was one of thoſe exalted characters belonging to the human race, who, from their high degree of proximity and alliance to *eſſential Heroes*, were juſtly called by the ancients Heroes κατα ϗεσιν, or *according to habitude*, and that he energized principally according to an intellectual life. As Hercules, therefore, was a character of this kind, it would be abſurd to conſider the prodigies related of him as hiſtorical facts; but we ſhould view them in the light of fables, under which certain divine truths are concealed. Indeed, to ſuch as conſider the accounts given of Hercules as hiſtorical facts, we may very properly addreſs the words of Plato to Dionyſius, when he was interrogating him on this very ſubject, I mean the achievements of Hercules, "that if the things reported of Hercules are true, he was neither the ſon of Jupiter, nor bleſſed, but on the contrary miſerable: but if he was the ſon of Jupiter and bleſſed, theſe accounts are falſe." * αλλως τε δει τοις τα τοιαυτα μυθαρια λεγουσιν, εμπειν ο απεκριθη πλατων τω διονυσιω περι του ηρακλεους· ὡς ει μεν ταυτα αληθη εστιν, α περι αυτου λεγουσιν, ϗτε διος ην, ϗτε ευδαιμων, αλλ' ἀθλιος· ει δε διος ην και ευδαιμων ψευδη εστι ταυτα.

But the meaning of the preſent *fable*, as Pauſanias very properly calls it, appears to be as follows: A dragon is a ſymbol of the partial life of the ſoul, i. e. of the life which ſhe leads while ſeparated from the gods: for as a dragon is ſaid to caſt off its ſkin and become young again, ſo the ſoul acquires rejuveneſcency

* Olympiodori MSS. Schol. in Platonis Gorgiam.

by

by always deſcending into generation. It is therefore by no means wonderful, that Hercules, who was born with intellectual prerogatives ſo much ſuperior to the bulk of mankind, ſhould even from his infancy have been remarkably united with divine natures, and thus may be ſaid to have vanquiſhed a partial life, which is implied by his ſtrangling dragons in his infancy. I only add farther concerning Hercules at preſent, that as he deſcended from Jupiter, it appears to me that his life was both *politic* and *philoſophic*, and this in the higheſt degree poſſible to human nature.

Page 67. *Minerva riſing from the head of Jupiter.*] Minerva, as Plato beautifully obſerves in the Cratylus, is *deific intelligence:* and hence ſhe is ſaid to have proceeded from the *head* of Jupiter, or the demiurgic intellect, by which the world was produced, becauſe ſhe is the progeny of the *deific intelligence* of this intellect, which is the very ſummit, flower, and as it were *head* of Jupiter.

Ibid. 67. *For they firſt of all denominated Minerva Ergane.*] *Ergane* means *artificer:* and the propriety of this appellation muſt be obvious to every one, from what we obſerved in the preceding note; I mean, that ſhe is the immediate progeny of the *artificer of the univerſe.*

Page 68. *Jupiter, who is denominated Polieus.*] *Polieus* means *the guardian of a city;* and this is a very proper epithet of Jupiter, becauſe he is the cauſe of a *politic* and philoſophic life.

Page 69. *In her hand ſhe holds a ſpear, a ſhield lies at her feet, and near her ſpear there is a dragon, which may perhaps be Erichthonius; and at the baſe of the ſtatue the generation of Pandora is repreſented.*] The *ſpear* of Minerva is a ſymbol of that all-pervading power, through which the gods without control are enabled to pervade the univerſe, to aid ſublunary forms, and to amputate baſe matter. Her *ſhield* ſignifies that untamed power, which firſt appears in her eſſence, and from thence becomes an invincible defence to the gods; through which they remain ſecure from paſſion, and reign over the univerſe triumphant and pure.

A dragon

A dragon, too, is very properly conſidered as one of the ſymbols belonging to this goddeſs. For, as we have before obſerved, this animal ſignifies the partial life of the ſoul, or, in other words, the condition of its *intellect* when ſeparated from *divine intellects*: and it is the province of Minerva, as we are informed by Proclus, to eſtabliſh all *partial intellects*, in the *univerſal intellect* of Jupiter.

With reſpect to Pandora, it is well known that, according to the fable, ſhe was a woman made out of earth by Vulcan, at the command of Jupiter, in order to take vengeance on Prometheus for having ſtolen fire from heaven; that ſhe was adorned by each god with ſome particular gift; and that ſhe was afterwards ſent by Jupiter to Epimetheus the brother of Prometheus with a box full of all-various evils. The recondite meaning however of this fable is, I fear, at preſent perfectly unknown; and therefore I ſhall preſent the reader with the following beautiful explanation of it from the MS. Scholia of Olympiodorus on the Gorgias of Plato:—"*Prometheus* is the inſpective guardian of the deſcent of rational ſouls: for to exert a *providential energy* is the employment of the rational ſoul, and prior to any thing elſe, to know itſelf. Irrational natures indeed perceive through percuſſion, and prior to impulſion know nothing: but the rational nature is able, prior to information from another, to know what is uſeful. Hence *Epimetheus* is the inſpective guardian of the irrational ſoul, becauſe it knows through percuſſion, and not prior to it. Prometheus, therefore, is that power which preſides over the deſcent of rational ſouls. But *fire* ſignifies the rational ſoul itſelf; becauſe, as fire tends upwards, ſo the rational ſoul purſues things on high. But you will ſay, Why is this fire ſaid to have been ſtolen? I anſwer, That which is ſtolen is transferred from its proper place to one that is foreign. Since, therefore, the rational ſoul is ſent from its proper place of abode on high, to earth as to a foreign region, on this account the fire is ſaid to be ſtolen. But why was it concealed in a reed? Becauſe a reed is cavernous like a conduit pipe (συριγγωδης), and therefore ſignifies

nifies the fluid body (το ῥευστον σωμα) in which the ſoul is carried. But why was the fire ſtolen contrary to the will of Jupiter? Again the fable ſpeaks as a fable: for both Prometheus and Jupiter are willing that the ſoul ſhould abide on high; but as it is requiſite that ſhe ſhould deſcend, the fable fabricates particulars accommodated to the perſons. And it repreſents, indeed, the ſuperior character, which is Jupiter, as unwilling; for he wiſhes the ſoul always to abide on high: but the inferior character Prometheus obliges her to deſcend. Jupiter therefore ordered *Pandora* to be made. And what elſe is this, than *the irrational ſoul**, which is of a feminine characteriſtic? For as it was neceſſary that the ſoul ſhould deſcend to theſe lower regions, but, being incorporeal and divine, it was impoſſible for her to be conjoined with body without a medium, hence ſhe becomes united with it through the irrational ſoul. But this irrational ſoul was called Pandora, becauſe each of the gods beſtowed on it ſome particular gift. And this ſignifies that the illuminations which terreſtrial natures receive, take place through the celeſtial bodies†."

I add farther concerning Minerva, from Proclus on the Timæus, that ſhe is called *Phoſpher*, becauſe ſhe extends the whole of intellectual light. The *Saviour*, as eſtabliſhing every partial intellect in the total intellections of her father Jupiter. *Calliergos*, or *producing beautiful works*, as comprehending all the works of her father in intellectual beauty. A *virgin*, as extending an undefiled and unmingled purity. *Aigiochos*, or *ægis-bearing*, as moving the whole of Fate, and governing its productions. *Philoſophic*, as replete with intellectual knowledge, and the light of wiſdom. And *Philopolemic*, as uniformly ruling over the oppoſ-

* The true man, or the rational ſoul, conſiſts of *intellect*, *cogitation*, and *opinion*: but the ſummit of the irrational life is the *phantaſy* under which *deſire* like a many-headed ſavage beaſt, and *anger* like a raging lion, ſubſiſt.

† For the irrational ſoul is an *immaterial body*, or, in other words, *vitalized extenſion*, ſuch as the mathematical bodies which we frame in the phantaſy; and the celeſtial bodies are of this kind.

ing natures which the world contains. Proclus farther informs us in MSS. Schol. in Cratylum, "that this goddeſs is called *Victory*, and *Health;* the former, becauſe ſhe cauſes intellect to rule over neceſſity, and form over matter; and the latter, becauſe ſhe preſerves the univerſe perpetually whole, perfect, exempt from age, and free from diſeaſe. It is the property therefore of this goddeſs to elevate and diſtribute, and through an intellectual dance, as it were, to connect, eſtabliſh, and defend inferior natures in ſuch as are more divine." η αθηνα ΝΙΚΗ προσαγορευεται και ΥΓΙΕΙΑ, τον μεν νουν κρατειν ποιουσα της αναγκης, και το ειδος της υλης, ολον δ' αει και τελειον, και αγηρων, και ανοσον διαφυλαττουσα το παν. οικειον ουν της του θεου ταυτης, και το αναγειν, και μεριζειν, και δια της νοερας χορειας συναπτειν τοις θειοτεροις, και ενιδρυειν και φρουρειν εν αυτοις.

Page 75. *It is reported that this ſtatue fell from heaven.*] The reaſon why ſome ſtatues were called by the ancients *Diopeteis*, is (ſays Jamblichus apud Phot. p. 554) "becauſe the occult art by which they were fabricated by human hands, was inconſpicuous."

Page 75. *Callimachus made for the ſtatue of the goddeſs a lamp of gold, which, when filled with oil, burns day and night for the ſpace of a year, &c.*] The ancients with great propriety dedicated a burning lamp to Minerva, as ſhe is the goddeſs of Wiſdom: for as truth is light itſelf, and has a moſt intimate alliance with wiſdom, it is impoſſible that any corporeal ſubſtance can more aptly ſymbolize with wiſdom than ſenſible light. Hence Aſclepius Trallianus in Schol. MSS. in Nicom. Arithmet. Iſagogen. beautifully derives the etymon of σοφια *wiſdom* from το σαφες *the perſpicuous and clear.* But for the ſake of the liberal reader I will tranſcribe the paſſage, as the manuſcript is very rare. αρα δε τι εστι σοφια; φαμεν οτι σαφια τις ουσα, ως σαφηνιξουσα τα παντα. αρα δε ποθεν αυτο τουτο σαφια ελεχθη; λεγομεν απο του φωτος. οθεν και Αριστοτελης, πανθ' ουσα φανοτατα, ταυτα πεφωτισμενα και καθαρα καλει. επει ουν το σαφες ειωθε τα κεκρυμμενα εν σκοτῳ τῃ αγνοιᾳ (l. της αγνοιας) εις φως και γνωσιν επιφερειν, δια τουτο εκληθη ουτως. i. e. "What then is

is *wiſdom*? We reply that it is a certain *clearneſs*, as being that which renders all things perſpicuous. But from whence was this word *clearneſs* denominated? We reply, From light. From whence alſo Ariſtotle calls all ſuch things as are *apparent*, *luminous* and *pure*. Since therefore *the clear* is accuſtomed to lead into light and knowledge things concealed in the darkneſs of ignorance, on this account it is thus denominated."

The following remarkable paſſage, indeed, ſhews that the ancients were in poſſeſſion of a ſtone, from which they made *everburning* wicks for lamps. This paſſage is from Apollonius, in his little treatiſe entitled Ιστοριαι Θαυμασιαι, or *Wonderful Hiſtories*, and is taken from Tacus. Τακος εν τῳ περι λιθων, ο καρυστιος (φησιν) λεγομενος λιθος επιφυσεις εχει εριωδεις ἡ χρωδεις, εξ ου ηθιλαι ἡ υφαινιλαι χειρικμαγεια. γριφουσι δε εξ αυτου ἡ εν λυχνια, ἡ εστιν κλιομενα λαμπρα ἡ ακαλακαυστα. των δε εκμαγειων των ρυπαινομενων η πλυσις γιγνιλαι, ε δι υδαλος, αλλα κλιμαλις (forte κλημαλις) καιλαι, ἡ τοις το εκμαγειον εντιθιλαι. ἡ ο μεν ρυπος απορρει, αυτο δε λευκον και καθαρον γιγνιλαι υπο του πυρος, και παλιν εις τας αυλας εγχρηζει χρειας. τα δ' ελλυχνια μενει τοι απαντα χρονον ακαλασκευαστα καιομενα μιλ' ελαιου δοκιμαζει. δε και τους πλεμαλιζομενους η οσμη του ελλυχνιου καιομενου. γιγνιλαι δε ο λιθος αυλος, και εν Καρυστῳ μεν αφ' ου και τωνομα ελαβεν. πολυς δε εν Κυπρῳ καιλαβαινοιλαν απο τους Γερανδρου ως επι Σολους πορευομενοις, εν αριστερα του Ελμαιου υπο καιλα πιλρων. και καιλα το παντελληνον αυξιλαι, και παλιν φθινανλος του σεληνιου μειωλαι και ο λιθος. That is, "Tacus in his Treatiſe on Stones ſays, that the ſtone which is called Caryſtius contains a certain woolly and coloured ſubſtance, from which garments are ſpun and wove. Wicks for lamps likewiſe are twiſted from this ſubſtance, which burn with a clear light, without being conſumed. Theſe garments, too, are not purified from the dirt which they contract by water; but they enkindle the branches of vines, and then place the garments on them. The dirt is by this means removed, and the garments become white and pure through the fire, and adapted to the purpoſes for which they were before employed. *But the wicks which are formed from*

this ſubſtance for lamps, when burnt with oil, give a perpetual light, without requiring freſh ſupply. By the ſmell too of theſe lamps, thoſe that labour under the falling ſickneſs are detected. This ſtone grows in Caryſtus, from whence it derives its name. It likewiſe abounds in that part of Cyprus through which you deſcend from Gerandrum towards Soli, on the left hand of Elmæus beneath the rocks. This ſtone increaſes about the full moon, and is diminiſhed when the moon decreaſes." It appears from this curious paſſage, that this ſtone *Caryſtius* muſt be the ſame with *linum vivum*, or *aſbeſtinum*.

What Plutarch too, *in his treatiſe, Why the Oracles ceaſe to give anſwers*, ſays concerning the non-exiſtence of this ſtone in his time, particularly deſerves the attention of the philoſophic reader. "It is not long (ſays he) ſince the quarry of Caryſtus has ceaſed to yield a certain ſoft ſtone, which uſed to be drawn into a fine thread; for I ſuppoſe that ſome here have ſeen towels, net-work, and coifs, woven of that thread which could not be burnt; but when they were ſoiled with uſing, people threw them into the fire, and took them out white and clean; for the fire only ſerved to purify them. But all this is vaniſhed, and nothing is to be found in the quarry now, but ſome few fibres or hairy threads, lying ſcattered up and down. Ariſtotle and his followers affirm, that the cauſe of all this is owing to an exhalation within the earth, the phænomena proceeding from which fail, or again make their appearance, when this exhalation fails, or revives and recovers itſelf again." The reaſon why this ſtone ſometimes fails, and at others appears again, can only be ſatisfactorily accounted for by that theory reſpecting fertile and barren periods, which the reader will find unfolded in the note to page 104.

With reſpect to the lamp mentioned by Pauſanias, whether its burning day and night for a year was entirely owing to the wick being made of Carpaſian flax, ſo that the lamp was not larger than the lamps uſed in common, deſerves to be inveſtigated by the curious in natural reſearches. But that the ancients poſ-

ſeſſed

ſeſſed the art of conſtructing lamps that would burn for many ages without ſupply, I think the liberal reader will be fully convinced, from peruſing the following account of lamps found in ancient ſepulchres, collected from Licetus, De Lucernis Antiquorum, Baptiſta Porta, and Pancirollus.

In the firſt place, then, Baptiſta Porta in his treatiſe of Natural Magic, relates, that about the year 1550, in the iſland Neſis in Naples, a marble ſepulchre of a certain Roman was diſcovered, upon the opening of which, a phial was found containing a burning lamp. This lamp became extinct on breaking the phial, and expoſing the light to the open air. It appeared that this lamp had been concealed before the advent of Chriſt. Thoſe who ſaw the lamp reported, that it emitted a moſt ſplendid flame. But the moſt celebrated is the lamp of Pallas the ſon of Evander, who was killed by Turnus, as Virgil relates in the tenth book of his Æneid.

This was diſcovered not far from the city of Rome, in the year 1401, by a countryman, who digging deeper than uſual, obſerved a ſtone ſepulchre, containing the body of a man of extraordinary ſize, which was as entire as if recently interred, and which had a large wound in the breaſt. Above the head of the deceaſed there was found a lamp burning with perpetual fire, which neither wind nor water, nor any other ſuperinduced liquor could extinguiſh: but the lamp being bored in the bottom, and broke by the importunate enemies of this wonderful light, the flame immediately vaniſhed. That this was the body of Pallas, is evident from the inſcription on the tomb, which was as follows:

> Pallas, Evander's ſon, whom Turnus' ſpear
> In battle ſlew, of mighty bulk, lies here.

In the Appian Road too, at Rome, in the time of Pope Paul the Third, a lamp was diſcovered burning in the ſepulchre of Tullia the daughter of Cicero, which became extinct on the admiſ-

ſion of the external air. From whence it appears that this lamp had continued to ſhine for about 1550 years. The hiſtorian, Pancirollus, who mentions this lamp, is a reſpectable author, and relates it as a well-known fact, in his curious book, entitled, Concerning memorable Things known to the Antients, but now loſt.

Saint Auſtin too (De Civitat. Dei, l. 21. cap. 6.) ſays, that a lamp was found in a temple dedicated to Venus, which was always expoſed to the open weather, and could never be conſumed, or extinguiſhed. And Ludovicus Vives, his commentator, mentions another lamp, which was found a little before his time, that had continued burning for 1050 years.

A very remarkable lamp was diſcovered about the year 1500, near Ateſtes, a town belonging to Padua in Italy, by a ruſtic, who digging deeper than uſual, found an earthen urn, containing another urn, in which laſt was a lamp placed between two cylindrical veſſels, one of gold, and the other of ſilver, and each of which was full of a very pure liquor, by whoſe virtue, it is probable, the lamp had continued to ſhine for upwards of 1500 years; and, unleſs it had been expoſed to the air, might have continued its wonderful light for a ſtill greater period of time. This curious lamp was the workmanſhip of one Maximus Olybius, who moſt probably effected this wonder by a profound ſkill in the chymical art. On the greater urn ſome verſes were inſcribed in Latin, which may be tranſlated as follows:

I.

Plund'rers, forbear this gift to touch,
'Tis awful Pluto's own:
A ſecret rare the world conceals,
To ſuch as you unknown.

II.

Olybius in this ſlender vaſe
The elements has chain'd;
Digeſted with laborious art,
From ſecret ſcience gain'd.

III. With

III.

With guardian care two copious urns
The coſtly juice confine,
Leſt, thro' the ruins of decay,
The lamp ſhould ceaſe to ſhine.

On the leſſer urn were the following verſes:

Plund'rers with prying eyes, away!
What mean ye by this curious ſtay?
Hence with your cunning, patron god,
With bonnet wing'd, and magic rod!
Sacred alone to Pluto's name,
This mighty work of endleſs fame.

It appears to me, that the perpetuity of theſe lamps was owing to the conſummate tenacity of the unctuous matter with which the flame was united, being ſo proportioned to the ſtrength of the fire, that, like the radical moiſture and natural heat in animals, neither of them could conquer or deſtroy the other. Licetus, who is of this opinion, obſerves, that in order to preſerve this equality of proportion, the ancients hid theſe lamps in caverns, or cloſe monuments: and hence it has happened, that on opening theſe tombs, the admiſſion of freſh air to the lamps has produced ſo great an inequality between the flame and the oil, that they have been preſently extinguiſhed.

Page 77. *Canephoroi.*] So called, from carrying canniſters in which the ſacred rites were depoſited.

Page 79. *The Crommyonian boar.*] I have already obſerved that the labours of Hercules are allegorical: perhaps, therefore, his deſtroying this boar ſignifies his ſubduing the fierce and ſavage nature of the paſſions.

Page 81. *But it is ſaid of Pan, &c.*] Pan, according to the Orphic theology, is the monad or ſummit of all the ſublunary local gods and dæmons, and firſt ſubſiſts at the extremity of the *intelligible* order, being there, as we are informed by Damaſcius, no other than the celebrated Protogonus, or Phanes. As the

Moon therefore, as well as many other divinities, is celebrated by the Orphic theologiſts as both *male* and *female*, perhaps Pan is the maſculine power of the moon: and this opinion is ſtrengthened by the following curious paſſage from Stephanus de Urbibus, in the article *Panos*. "There is (ſays he) a great ſtatue of Pan, with its private parts raiſed in a ſtraight direction to the length of ſeven fingers. The right hand of the ſtatue holds whips elevated towards the moon, of which luminary they ſay Pan is an image." ἐστι δε και του ξεου αγαλμα μεγα, ορθιακον ἐχον τα αιδοιφ εις επτα δακτυλους. επαιρει τε μαστιγας τη δεξια σεληνη ης ειδωλον φασιν ειναι τον Πανα. Let the reader, however, carefully remember that the Pan ſeen by the Lacedæmonian meſſenger was a dæmoniacal power, and not the divinity of this name.

Page 82. *Æſchylus was the firſt that repreſented theſe divinities with ſnakes in their hair.*] Thoſe who are of opinion that the Orphic hymns are ſpurious compoſitions, will doubtleſs imagine that their opinion is indiſputably confirmed by the preſent paſſage: for the furies in theſe hymns* are called οφιοπλοκαμοι, or *ſnaky-haired*; and conſequently it may be ſaid, they muſt have been written poſterior to the time of Æſchylus, if what Pauſanias aſſerts be true. It muſt, however, be remembered, that Æſchylus was accuſed of inſerting in his tragedies things belonging to the myſteries†; and I ſhall produce ſome very ſtrong arguments in the courſe of theſe notes, to prove that the Orphic hymns which have come down to us, are the very hymns which were uſed in the Eleuſinian myſteries. If this be the caſe, either Pauſanias is miſtaken in what he aſſerts of Æſchylus in this place; or, which appears to me to be more probable, being a man religiouſly fearful of diſcloſing any particulars belonging to the myſteries, he means that no one prior to Æſchylus *openly* repreſented the Furies with ſnakes in their hair; or, in other words, that Æſchylus was the firſt *prophane* writer (as a Chriſtian would

* Vid. hym. 69.

† Vid. Fabric. Biblioth. tom. 1. p. 606.

expreſs

expreſs himſelf, when ſpeaking of ſome pagan, with reference to the authors of the Bible) who deſcribed the Furies in this manner. I ſhall only obſerve farther at preſent, that there is a paſſage in the Cataplus of Lucian, which very much corroborates my opinion. The paſſage is as follows: "Tell me, Cynic, for you are initiated in the *Eleuſinian Myſteries*, do not the preſent particulars appear to you ſimilar to thoſe which take place in the Myſteries? Cyn. Very much ſo. See then, here comes a certain torch-bearer, with *a dreadful and threatening countenance. Is it therefore one of the Furies?*" ειπε μοι, ετελεσθης γαρ, ω Κυνισκε, τα ελευσινια, ουχ ομοια τοις εκει τα ενθαδε σοι δοκει; ΚΥΝ. ευ λεγεις. ιδου ουν προσερχεται τις δαδουχουσα τις, φοβερον τι, και απειλητικον προσβλεπουσα· ἢ αρα που εριννυς εστιν; It is evident from this paſſage, that the Furies in the Myſteries were of a terrible appearance, which Pauſanias informs us was not the caſe with their ſtatues: and it is from the circumſtance of the ſtatues of theſe divinities not being in the leaſt dreadful in their appearance, that he infers Æſchylus was the firſt that repreſented them ſo. Hence, as the Myſteries were inſtituted long before Æſchylus, it is evident, that the terrible aſpects of the Furies were not invented by him: and it is more than probable that this dreadful appearance was principally cauſed by the ſnakes in their hair. The ſame Orphic hymn, too, calls the Furies φοβερωπες, i. e. *having terrific aſpects*.

Page 82.] The verſes of Homer, alluded to by Pauſanias, are to be found in the 23d book of the Iliad; and are thus tranſlated by Mr. Pope:

> ——————and emulate thy ſire,
> The great Meciſtheus; who, in days of yore,
> In Theban games the nobleſt trophy bore,
> (The games ordain'd dead Oedipus to grace)
> And ſingly vanquiſh'd the Cadmæan race.

Page 84. *For the pomp of the Panathenaia.*] The Athenians had two feſtivals in honour of Minerva, the former of which,

on

on account of the greater preparation required in its celebration, was called *the greater Panathenaia*; and the latter, on account of its requiring a leſs apparatus, was denominated *the leſſer Panathenaia*. The celebration of them likewiſe was diſtinguiſhed by longer and ſhorter periods of time. In the greater Panathenaia, too, the veil of the goddeſs was carried about, in which, ſays Proclus, the giants were repreſented vanquiſhed by the Olympian gods. Proclus farther informs us (in Tim. p. 26.) that theſe feſtivals ſignified the beautiful order which proceeds into the world from intellect, and the unconfuſed diſtinction of mundane contrarieties. But what are we to underſtand by the veil of the goddeſs, and the victory obtained over the giants? I anſwer, Her veil is an emblem of that one life or nature of the univerſe, which, as Proclus obſerves, the goddeſs weaves, by thoſe intellectual vital powers which her eſſence contains: and the battle of the giants againſt the Olympian gods, ſignifies the oppoſition between the laſt demiurgic powers of the univerſe (or thoſe powers which partially fabricate and proximately preſide over mundane natures), and ſuch as are firſt. But Minerva is ſaid to have vanquiſhed the giants, becauſe ſhe rules over theſe ultimate artificers of things, by her unifying powers.

Page 85. *Ariſte and Calliſte.*] That is, *beſt and moſt beautiful.* It appears to me, that Diana was thus denominated from her intimate alliance with Apollo: for Proclus, in his MSS. Scholia on the Cratylus, informs us that there is a great correſpondence between the Coric* or virginal ſeries, and the Apolloniacal. "For (ſays he) the former is the unity of the middle triad of rulers, i. e. of the ſupermundane gods, and emits from herſelf vivific powers: but the latter converts the ſolar principles to one union: and the ſolar principles are allotted a ſubſiſtence imme-

* This ſeries conſtitutes the vivific triad of ſupermundane gods, and conſiſts of Diana, Proſerpine, and Minerva; or, according to the Chaldæan theologiſts, of Hecate, Soul, and Virtue, which are only different names of the ſame powers.

diately

diately after the vivific. Hence, according to Orpheus, when Ceres delivered up the government to Proſerpine, ſhe thus admoniſhed her:

> Αὐταρ Απολλωνος θαλερον λεχος εισαναβασα,
> Τεξεται αγλαα τεκνα πυριφλεγεθοντα προσωποις.

i. e.

> But next Apollo's florid bed aſcend;
> For thus the god fam'd offspring ſhall beget,
> Refulgent with the beams of glowing fire.

But how could this be the caſe, unleſs there was a conſiderable degree of communion between theſe divinities?" As Apollo, therefore, from his analogy to *the good*, or the firſt cauſe, may very properly be called *the beſt* (for Apollo emits from his eſſence intellectual, and *the good* ſupereſſential light), Diana likewiſe may be thus denominated from her intimate alliance with Apollo. The ſame reaſon too accounts for her being called *moſt beautiful*: for Mercury, *Venus*, and Apollo, compoſe the ſupermundane elevating triad, and are moſt profoundly united to each other.

Page 91. *The dæmon Anteros.*] Of this power, who avenges the injuries of lovers, the following remarkable ſtory is told by Eunapius in his Life of Jamblichus: "This philoſopher went with his diſciples to Gadara in Syria, a place ſo famous for baths, that after Baiæ in Campania it is the ſecond in the Roman empire. Here a diſpute about baths ariſing while they were bathing, Jamblichus ſmiling ſaid to them: 'Though what I am going to diſcloſe is not pious, yet for your ſakes it ſhall be undertaken;' and at the ſame time he ordered his diſciples to enquire of the natives, what appellations had been formerly given to two of the hot fountains, which were indeed leſs than the others, but more elegant. Upon enquiry, they found themſelves unable to diſcover the cauſe of their nomination; but were informed that the one was called *Eros* or *Love*, and the other *Anteros*, or *the god who avenges the injuries of lovers*. Jamblichus immediately touching the water with his hand (for he ſat, perhaps, on the margin of the fountain), and murmuring a few words, raiſed

raiſed from the bottom of the fountain a fair boy, of a moderate ſtature, whoſe hair ſeemed to be tinged with gold, and the upper part of whoſe breaſt was of a luminous appearance. His companions being aſtoniſhed at the novelty of the affair, Let us paſs on, ſays he, to the next fountain; and at the ſame time he aroſe, fixed in thought, and, performing the ſame ceremonies as before, called forth the other Love, who was in all reſpects ſimilar to the former, except that his hair ſcattered in his neck was blacker, and was like the ſun in refulgence. At the ſame time, both the boys eagerly embraced Jamblichus, as if he had been their natural parent: but he immediately reſtored them to their proper ſeats, and, when he had waſhed, departed from the place." Let the reader, however, be careful to remember, that though *Eros* and *Anteros* are gods conſidered according to their firſt ſubſiſtence, yet theſe which are mentioned by Eunapius were of the dæmoniacal order; and were perhaps dæmons only κατὰ σχεσιν, *according to habitude, or alliance.*

Page 91. *Carrying with them burning lamps.*] The propriety of employing burning lamps, in a conteſt ſacred to Prometheus, is ſufficiently apparent from the account we have already given of this divinity. For Prometheus, we have ſhewn, is the inſpective guardian of the deſcent of rational ſouls; and fire, from its tending upwards, is an emblem of the rational ſoul. As a burning lamp therefore may be conſidered as a very proper image of our rational part, it appears to me, that this cuſtom adopted by the Athenians, of running from the altar of Prometheus to the city with burning lamps, in which he alone was victorious whoſe lamp remained unextinguiſhed in the race, was intended to ſignify that he is the true conqueror in the race of life, whoſe rational part is not extinguiſhed, or, in other words, does not become dormant in the career.

Page 91. *For Socrates, in the night before that day on which Plato became his diſciple, ſaw in a dream a ſwan fly to his boſom.*] The ſoul of Plato, according to the ancients, deſcended from

Apollo, to whom the ſwan is ſacred; and conſequently this bird plainly ſignified Plato in the dream of Socrates. Olympiodorus too, in his Life of Plato, informs us, that when that philoſopher was near his death, he dreamt that he was changed into a ſwan, and that, by flying from tree to tree, he gave much trouble to the fowlers in catching him: and this dream, ſays he, according to the Socratic Simmias, ſignified that his meaning would not be apprehended by his interpreters. For interpreters are ſimilar to fowlers, by attempting to explain the conceptions of the ancients: and Plato's meaning cannot be apprehended, becauſe his diſcourſes, like thoſe of Homer, may be underſtood phyſically, ethically, theologically, and in ſhort multifariouſly. For the ſouls of Homer and Plato are ſaid to have been produced all-harmonic. Let it however be remembered, that though Plato's meaning was by no means apprehended by his more ancient interpreters, yet it is moſt divinely and fully unfolded by the latter Platoniſts, among whom Olympiodorus holds a very diſtinguiſhed place.

Page 91. *Apollo changed him into the bird whoſe name he bore.*] Nothing more appears to be ſignified by this fable, than that Cycnus was a man wholly given to external harmony, and who therefore knew nothing of philoſophy, which is the greateſt muſic, as Plato in the Phædo beautifully obſerves. In conſequence therefore of this neglect of his ſoul he became united with the life of a ſwan, as the puniſhment of his guilt. But obſerve, that when the rational ſoul is ſaid to be changed into a brute, the meaning is, that the ſoul becomes bound to the life of a brute in the ſame manner as our preſiding dæmons are united with our ſouls: for the human ſoul never becomes the animating part of a brute, any more than dæmons become human ſouls. I only add, that the doctrine of tranſmigration when viewed in this light is extremely beautiful: and Syrianus and Proclus were, I believe, the firſt by whom it was thus explained.

Page 92. *There is a temple of Ceres Theſmophorus.*] Ceres was with great propriety worſhipped by the ancients as *Theſmophorus*,

or *the legiſlator:* for this goddeſs, as we are informed by Salluſt, *De Diis et Mundo*, according to her mundane diſtribution is the divinity of the planet Saturn: Saturn, according to Plato in the Cratylus, is *pure intellect*; and *law*, according to the ſame great philoſopher in his Laws, is νου διανομη, *a diſtribution of intellect.*

Page 92. *The firſt fruits of the Hyperboreans are ſent.*] It appears from the Scholiaſt on Pindar, that the Greeks called the Thracians Boreans: there is therefore (ſays Larcher) great probability, that they called the people beyond theſe Hyperboreans. Callimachus, in his hymn to Delos, mentions theſe people in the following lines, as tranſlated by Dr. Dodd:

> ——————ſtates flowing from each clime
> Of the well-peopled globe, from eaſt to weſt,
> From Arctic and *Antarctic* pole—where Heav'n
> The virtue of the habitants rewards
> With length of days: theſe to the Delian god
> Begin the grand proceſſion; and in hand
> The holy ſheaves and myſtic offerings bear.

Page 92. *Commit them to the Arimaſpi.*] The Arimaſpi were Hyperborean Cyclopians, who dwelt about the Scythian river Arimaſpus, which is full of golden ſands.

Page 93. *Apollo Dionyſidotus.*] Perhaps inſtead of διονυσοδοτος it ſhould be διονυσωλης, *Dionyſoter* or *the ſaviour of Bacchus.* My reaſons for ſuppoſing that this alteration is requiſite, are derived from the following curious and beautiful paſſage, from the MS. Commentary of Olympiodorus on the Phædo of Plato: "In order," ſays he, "to the ſoul's deſcent, it is neceſſary that ſhe ſhould firſt eſtabliſh an animating image of herſelf in the body; and in the ſecond place, that ſhe ſhould ſympathize with the image, according to a ſimilitude of form: for every form paſſes into a fameneſs with itſelf, through naturally verging to itſelf. In the third place, being ſituated in a diviſible nature, it is neceſſary that ſhe ſhould be lacerated and ſcattered together with ſuch a nature, and that ſhe ſhould fall into an ultimate diſtri-

distribution, till, through the energies of a cathartic life, she raises herself from the extreme dispersion, and loosens the bond of sympathy through which she is united with body: and till, at the same time energizing without the image, she becomes established according to her primary life. And we may behold a resemblance of all this in the fable respecting Bacchus, the exemplar of our intellect. For it is said that Dionysius, establishing his image in a mirror, pursued it, and thus became distributed into the universe. But Apollo excited and elevated Bacchus; this god being a cathartic deity, and the true *saviour of Dionysius*, and on this account he is celebrated as *Dionysoter**." Such as are desirous of seeing the original of this curious passage, and many important particulars respecting the mysteries of Bacchus unfolded, from Greek manuscripts, may consult my *Dissertation on the Eleusinian and Bacchic Mysteries*.

Page 93. *And of Earth, whom they call a mighty goddess.*] Earth is called by Plato, in the Timæus, the most ancient and first of the gods in the heavens: and this, says Proclus, on account of her stability and generative power, her symphony with heaven, and her position in the centre of the universe. For the centre possesses a mighty power in the universe, as connecting all its circulations; and hence it was called by the Pythagoræans the tower of Jupiter, from its containing a demiurgic guard. And if we recollect the Platonic hypothesis concerning the earth, that our habitable part is nothing but a dark hollow, and very different from the true earth, which is adorned with a beauty similar to that of the heavens, we shall have no occasion to wonder at her being called the first and most ancient of the celestial gods." But the Platonic hypothesis which Proclus alludes to is this, which is an Egyptian tradition: that the summit of the earth is ethereal, in order that it may unite with the orb of the moon; that it is every where perforated with holes like a

* In the MS. it is διονυσοτης; but should doubtless be read διονυσωτηρ.

pumice

pumice ſtone; and that we reſide at the bottom of certain of theſe hollows, while we fancy that we dwell on the ſummit of the earth. The great antiquity of this doctrine may be collected from what Homer ſays in the Iliad, that Heaven and Earth are common to the three divinities, Jupiter, Neptune, and Pluto*: and conſequently each of theſe muſt be divided between them. The earth, therefore, muſt be divided analogous to the univerſe; into that which is celeſtial, terreſtrial, and middle. And there muſt be ſome part of it ethereal, which belongs to Jupiter. As this part therefore cannot be the ſurface on which we reſide, it muſt conſequently be contiguous to the moon. See more concerning this curious and intereſting theory, in my Introductions to the Phædo and Timæus of Plato.

Page 93. *Ceres Aneſidora.*] This word means *the beſtower of gifts*, and is agreeable to the etymon of Ceres given by Plato in the Cratylus: for δημητηρ, ſays he, is διδουσα μητηρ, *a beſtowing mother*. But why this goddeſs was ſo called by the wiſe ancients, the following beautiful extract from the MSS. Scholia of Proclus on the Cratylus will abundantly unfold: "It is requiſite to conſider this goddeſs, not only as the ſupplier of corporeal food, but, beginning from the gods, we ſhould view her as firſt of all ſupplying them with aliment, afterwards the natures poſterior to the gods, and laſt of all ſuch as are indigent of corporeal aliment. For the characteriſtic of love ſhines forth firſt of all in the gods: and this is the caſe with the medicinal and prophetic powers of Apollo, and with thoſe of every other divinity. But nutriment, when conſidered with reference to the gods, is the communication of intellectual plenitude from more exalted natures to thoſe of an inferior rank. Gods therefore are nouriſhed, when they view with the eye of intellect gods prior to themſelves; when they are perfected, and view intelligible beauties, ſuch as juſtice itſelf, temperance itſelf, and the

* Γαια δ' ετι ξυνη παντων και μακρος ολυμπος. Iliad. 15.

like,

like, as Plato obſerves in the Phædrus." Shortly after this, he obſerves, "that according to Orpheus, Ceres is the ſame with Rhea: for Orpheus ſays that, ſubſiſting on high in unproceeding union with Saturn, ſhe is *Rhea*, but that, by emitting and generating Jupiter, ſhe is Ceres. For thus he ſpeaks:

Ρειην τὸ πριν ουσαν, επει διος εκλυε μητηρ
Γεγονε δημητηρ*.

i. e.

The goddeſs who was *Rhea*, when ſhe bore
Jove, became *Ceres*.

"But Heſiod ſays that Ceres is the daughter of Rhea. It is however evident that theſe theologiſts harmonize with each other: for whether this goddeſs proceeds from union with Saturn to a ſecondary order, or whether ſhe is the firſt progeny of Rhea, ſhe is ſtill the ſame. Ceres therefore being of this kind, and receiving the moſt ancient and ruling order, from the *whole* vivific Rhea†, and comprehending the middle centres of *whole* vivification‡, ſhe fills all ſupermundane natures with the rivers of all-perfect life, pouring upon all things vitality, indiviſibly and uniformly.

"But prior to all this, ſhe unfolds to us the demiurgic intellect, (Jupiter) and imparts to him the power of vivifying wholes. For, as Saturn ſupplies her from on high with the cauſe of being; ſo Ceres from on high, and from her own prolific boſoms, pours forth vivification to the demiurgus. But poſſeſſing herſelf the middle of all vivific deity, ſhe governs the whole fountains which ſhe contains, and comprehends the one bond of the firſt and laſt powers of life. She ſtably convolves too and contains all ſecondary fountains. But ſhe leads forth the uniform cauſes of prior natures to the generation of others. This goddeſs too

* This Orphic fragment was never before publiſhed.

† Της ολης ζωογονου θεας.

‡ Της ολης ζωογονιας.

comprehends *Vesta* and *Juno:* in her right hand parts Juno, who pours forth the whole order of souls; but in her left hand parts Vesta, who leads forth all the light of Virtue. Hence, Ceres is with great propriety called by Plato, *mother*, and, at the same time, the *supplier of aliment*. For, so far as she comprehends in herself the cause of Juno, she is a mother; but as containing Vesta in her essence, she is the supplier of aliment. But the paradigm of this goddess is *Night: for immortal Night is called the nurse of the gods*. Night however is the cause of aliment intelligibly*: for that which is intelligible is, according to the oracle†, the aliment of the intellectual orders of gods. But Ceres first of all separates the two kinds of aliment in the gods, as Orpheus says:

‡ Μησατο γαρ προπολους, ϗ αμφιπολους, ϗ οπαδους.
Μησατο δ' αμβροσιην, ϗ ερυθρου νεκταρος αρθρον.
Μησατο δ' αγλαα εργα μελισσαων εριβομβων.

i. e.

She cares for pow'rs ministrant, whether they
Or gods *precede*, or *follow*, or *surround:*
Ambrosia, and *tenacious nectar red*,
Are too the objects of her bounteous care.
Last to the bee her providence extends,
Who gathers honey with resounding hum.

"Ceres therefore, our sovereign mistress (δεσποινα), not only generates life, but that which gives perfection to life; and this from supernal natures to such as are last: *for virtue is the perfection of souls*. Hence mothers who are connected with the circulations of time, bring forth their offspring in imitation of this two-fold

* Because Night subsists at the summit of that divine order, which is called by the Chaldæan theologists νοητος ϗ νοερος, *intelligible and at the same time intellectual.*

† That is, according to one of the Chaldæan oracles.

‡ These verses too were never before printed.

and

and eternal generation of Ceres. For, at the ſame time that they ſend forth their young into the light, they extend to them milk naturally produced, as their food."

Page 96. *And when the Atheniams enquired of the oracle, &c.*] There are very few, I fear, of the preſent day, who do not conſider the oracles of the ancients as mere deluſions; and who do not aſcribe the accompliſhment of their predictions, either to the tricks of deſigning prieſts, or the random power of chance. This, however, muſt neceſſarily be the caſe at a period when divine influence is totally withdrawn, and deluſion and perfect atheiſm are the ſubſtitutes for the genuine religion of mankind. While men indeed are ignorant that true theology (and ſuch was that of the ancients) is perfectly ſcientific, being founded on the cleareſt and moſt natural conceptions of the human mind; and while in conſequence of this ignorance they believe nothing to be real, but objects of ſenſe, the doctrine of a communication between men and divine natures muſt appear ridiculous in the extreme. And yet one ſhould think, that hiſtory muſt convince the moſt incredulous, that the numerous inſtances in which the predictions of oracles have been ſo wonderfully accompliſhed, could not be the reſult either of chance or intrigue. Indeed, he who can read the many inſtances of this kind adduced by Pauſanias, and yet deny the poſſibility of man communicating with higher powers, muſt either be an atheiſt or a fool.

For the ſake therefore of the lover of divinity, I ſhall ſummarily diſcloſe the ſcientific theory of oracles, according to the philoſophy of Plato. As there is not one father of the univerſe only, one providence, and one divine law, but many fathers ſubordinate to the one firſt father, many adminiſtrators of providence poſterior to, and comprehended in the one univerſal providence of the demiurgus of all things, and many laws proceeding from one firſt law, it is neceſſary that there ſhould be different allotments, and a diverſity of divine diſtribution. Hence there are allotments of partial ſouls, ſuch as ours, of unpolluted

ſouls, ſuch as heroes, beneficent dæmons and angels, and of the gods themſelves. But the allotments of angels, dæmons and heroes are ſuſpended from thoſe of the gods, and poſſeſs a more various diſtribution: for one divine allotment comprehends many angelic allotments, and a ſtill greater number of ſuch as are dæmoniacal. For multitude is every where ſuſpended from one principle. And as in eſſences, powers and energies, progreſſions from theſe generate a kindred multitude; ſo with reſpect to allotments, ſuch as are firſt tranſcend in power, but are diminiſhed according to multitude, as being nearer the one father of the univerſe, and the one total providence which he contains; but ſuch as are ſecond to theſe poſſeſs a ſubordinate power, and an increaſed multitude.

Such then being the general particulars reſpecting the theory of allotments, the next thing to be conſidered is, that the allotment of a divine nature, whether celeſtial or ſublunary, is an unreſtrained government, and a providential energy about the ſubjects of its government. By unreſtrained government I mean an exemption from all paſſivity, and from any tendency towards or alliance with ſubordinate natures: for every thing divine is at the ſame time every where and no where. It is every where, conſidered as illuminating all things with its own ineffable light; and it is no where, conſidered as exempt from all the properties of the natures which it illumines. The ſame too muſt be underſtood, in an inferior degree, of thoſe beneficent natures that are the perpetual attendants of the gods: for the energy of theſe alſo is unreſtrained, but not in that tranſcendant manner in which it is poſſeſſed by the gods. In the third place, the allotments of the gods and their attendants are perpetual: for immutability is the eſſential property of a divine nature, and conſequently muſt be communicated to that which perpetually attends divinity, and exerts a beneficent energy. But notwithſtanding this immutability of better natures, yet in order to the proper

proper reception of their illuminations, it is neceſſary that there ſhould be as perfect an aptitude in the recipients as they are capable of receiving. Hence, as in generation, or the ſublunary region, wholes remain perpetually according to nature, but their parts are ſometimes according and ſometimes contrary to nature, this muſt be true of the parts of the earth. When thoſe circulations therefore take place, during which the parts of the earth ſubſiſt according to nature, and this is accompanied with a concurrence of proper inſtruments and places, then divine illumination is abundantly and properly received. But when the parts of the earth ſubſiſt contrary to nature, as at preſent, and which has been the caſe ever ſince the oracles ceaſed, then, as there is no longer an aptitude of *places*, *inſtruments* and *times*, divine influence can no longer be received, though the illuminations of divine natures continue immutably the ſame; juſt, ſays Proclus, as if a face ſtanding in the ſame poſition, a mirror ſhould at one time receive a clear image of it, and at another, one obſcure and debile, or indeed no image at all. For, as the ſame incomparable man farther obſerves, it is no more proper to refer the defect of divine inſpiration to the gods, than to accuſe the ſun as the cauſe of the moon being eclipſed, inſtead of the conical ſhadow of the earth into which the moon falls.

Page 98. *There is a temple of Nemeſis, &c.*] Proclus on Heſiod informs us, that *Nemeſis* was celebrated in hymns as *the angel of juſtice*; and that ſhe is repreſented by Heſiod clothed in a white garment, becauſe ſhe is an intellectual power, far removed from the atheiſtic and dark eſſence of the paſſions.

Page 98. *The river of the Ocean.*] Herodotus in Euterpe ſays, "that he knows no river of the name of Ocean, and that he believes it was either invented by Homer, or ſome poet of former times:" and Mr. Wood is of opinion, "that the Ocean in Homer's time had a very different meaning from that which it now conveys." Herodotus is certainly right in what he ſays,

as he only considered the sensible Ocean; and Mr. Wood discovers some sagacity in conjecturing, that Ocean formerly had a different meaning from what it has at present. For, when Homer calls Ocean a *river*, he alludes to the deity of this name, who belongs to that order of gods which is called intellectual, and of which Saturn is the summit; who is a fontal deity πηγαῖος θεός, and is therefore very properly denominated a *river*, as giving birth to the *procession* of the gods into the sensible universe, and being, according to his last subsistence, the source of the sea and the all-various streams that flow upon the earth. For every cause is that primarily, which its effect is secondarily; and hence causes were assigned by ancient theologists the same names with their effects. Concerning this deity, Proclus in his MSS. Scholia on the Cratylus observes as follows: "Ocean is the cause to all the gods of acute and vigorous energy, and bounds the distinctions of the first, middle, and last orders; converting himself to himself, and to his proper principles, through swiftness of intellect, but moving all things from himself to energies accommodated to their natures; perfecting their powers, and causing them to possess a never-failing subsistence." And in his Commentaries on the Timæus, p. 296, he observes of this deity, considered according to his *sublunary* subsistence, "that he is the cause of motion, progression and power, conferring vigour and prolific abundance on intellectual lives, but swiftness of energy and purity in generations to souls, and facility of motion to bodies. That considered as subsisting in the gods (i. e. in sublunary gods) he comprehends a motive and providential cause: but in angels he comprehends an unfolding and intellectual swiftness: in dæmons, efficacious power: and in heroes he is the supplier of a magnificent and efficacious life. Besides this, he imparts to every element the characteristic of his nature. Thus, with respect to air, he produces all the mutation of aerial natures, and is, as Aristotle observes, the cause of the circle of the meteors.

But

"But in the watry element he is the cauſe of fertility, facility of motion, and all-various powers: for, according to the poet*,

From him the ſea and ev'ry river flows.

In earth he is the ſource of generative perfection, of the diſtinction of forms, and of generation and corruption. Hence, ſuch terreſtrial orders as are vivific and demiurgic he defines; and ſuch powers as comprehend the reaſons of earth, and are the inſpective guardians of generation, he excites and multiplies, and calls forth into motion." And ſhortly after, he adds, "that *Ocean* in fine is the cauſe of all motion; intellectual, belonging to ſouls; and natural, to all ſecondary natures: but *Tethys* is the cauſe of all the diſtinction of the ſtreams proceeding from the Ocean, conferring on each a proper purity of natural motion."

I only add, that it is peculiar to the Platonic philoſophy to ſuſpend phyſics from theology, and this in imitation of Orpheus, who ſuſpends Nature herſelf from the vivific goddeſs Rhea, who is the cauſe of all life, both that which is intellectual, and that which is inſeparable from the fluctuating nature of bodies. This peculiarity muſt ſurely be pleaſing to every one that is not atheiſtically inclined; at the ſame time, that by leading us up to ſuch principles as are *truly* firſt, it enables us to remove the veil which conceals the myſtic wiſdom of the ancients, and cauſes it to appear in the eyes of the multitude inextricably confuſed, and beyond all compariſon abſurd. The truth of this obſervation will be immediately aſſented to, by any one who underſtands the above explanation of Ocean.

Page 98. *Table of the Sun.*] The table of the Sun, according to Herodotus in Thal. was this:—"A plain in the vicinity of the city (above Syene in Æthiopia) was filled to the height of four feet with the roaſted fleſh of all kinds of animals, which was carried there in the night, under the inſpection of the magi-

* Homer.

ſtrates: during the day, whoever pleaſed was at liberty to go and ſatisfy his hunger. The natives of the place affirm, that the earth ſpontaneouſly produces all theſe viands: this however is what they term the table of the Sun." I have given the paſſage as tranſlated by Mr. Beloe.

Page 99. *Atlas is ſo lofty, &c.*] The great height of the mountain Atlas is very ſucceſsfully employed by Proclus in Tim. p. 56, as an argument for the truth of that Platonic hypotheſis concerning the earth, which we have mentioned in a former note. The paſſage in which he employs this argument is as follows: "It is here requiſite to remember the Platonic hypotheſes concerning the earth. For Plato does not meaſure its magnitude after the ſame manner as mathematicians; but thinks that its interval is much greater, as Socrates aſſerts in the Phædo, In which dialogue alſo he ſays, that there are many habitable parts ſimilar to the places of our abode. And hence he relates, that an iſland and continent of this kind exiſted in the external or Atlantic ſea. For indeed, if the earth be naturally ſpherical, it is neceſſary that it ſhould be ſuch according to its greateſt part, But the parts which we inhabit, both internally and externally, exhibit great inequality. In ſome parts of the earth, therefore, there muſt be an expanded plain, and an interval extended on high. *For, according to the ſaying of Heraclitus, he who paſſes through a very profound region will arrive at the Atlantic mountain, whoſe magnitude is ſuch, according to the relation of the Æthiopian hiſtorians, that it touches the æther, and caſts a ſhadow of five thouſand ſtadia in extent; for from the ninth hour of the day the ſun is concealed by it, even to his perfect demerſion under the earth.* Nor is this wonderful: for Athos, a Macedonian mountain, caſts a ſhadow as far as to Lemnos, which is diſtant from it ſeven hundred ſtadia. Nor are ſuch particulars as theſe, which Marcellus the Æthiopic hiſtorian mentions, related only concerning the Atlantic mountain; but Ptolemy alſo ſays that the Lunar mountains are of an immenſe height; and Ariſtotle, that Cau-

caſus

caſus is enlightened by the rays of the ſun a third part of the night after ſun-ſet, and a third part before the riſing of the ſun. And if any one conſiders the whole magnitude of the earth, bounded by its elevated parts, he will conclude that it is truly of a prodigious magnitude, according to the aſſertion of Plato." I only add, that what Proclus obſerves here from Ptolemy about the height of the Lunar mountains is contradicted by Mr. Bruce, who ſays in his book, on the Source of the Nile, that theſe mountains are by no means of that prodigious altitude which they were ſuppoſed to be by the ancients. However, for my own part, I prefer Ptolemy's authority to that of Mr. Bruce, notwithſtanding the perſon of Mr. Bruce during his travels was, as he informs us, by no means deſpicable; and in addition to this, his circumſtances were affluent, and his connections powerful!

Page 101. *I can alſo mention others, that were once men, and were after their death worſhipped as gods by the Greeks.*] I have already abundantly ſhewn in a former note, that there is an order of ſouls among men, who from their ſuperior purity, and magnanimity, and their proximity to beings eſſentially more excellent, were very properly denominated by the ancients, *heroes*. Theſe elevated ſouls, too, were juſtly called by the ſame names as the divinities from which they deſcended: for the characteriſtic of every divine nature extends itſelf to the laſt of things, ſo as even to leave a veſtige of its ineffable prerogatives in the dark and rebounding receptacle of matter. Heroes however, though they were worſhipped by the ancients, yet they were neither conſidered as gods, nor worſhipped as ſuch, by thoſe who paid them no other honours than what were ordained by the Grecian laws, as is evident from Plato's Laws. Pauſanias therefore, in the paſſage before us, ſeems, for want of a philoſophical acquaintance with the religion of his country, to confound the divine and human nature: and it is to paſſages of this nature that we muſt aſcribe the general prevalence at preſent of that moſt licentious and

and ignorant opinion, which aſſerts *all* the gods of the ancients to be nothing more than deified men.

Page 104. *And that I might conjecture his bulk, &c.*] That, in the heroic age, men abounded of a prodigious ſtature cannot be denied, without ſuppoſing the whole of the Iliad to be a fable: though, on the other hand, to imagine with the *Scotch Grammarian*, that there has been a gradual declenſion of the ſtature of mankind from the moſt early periods, and that the human ſpecies will at laſt come to nothing, is an opinion too extravagant and unphiloſophical to deſerve the labour of confutation. The fact is, that the ſuperior ſtrength and ſize of the celebrated heroes of antiquity can only be accounted for ſatisfactorily, by having recourſe, to that recondite wiſdom of the ancients, which was firſt diſcovered in the colleges of the Ægyptian prieſts, and was afterwards delivered ænigmatically by Pythagoras, ſcientifically by Plato, and *entheaſtically*, or *according to a deific energy* (ενθεαστικως), by his latter diſciples. From this moſt arcane and ſublime wiſdom we learn, that all the parts of the univerſe cannot participate the providence of the gods in a ſimilar manner, but that ſome of its parts muſt enjoy this eternally, and others temporally; ſome in a primary, and others in a ſecondary degree. For the univerſe being a perfect whole, muſt have a firſt, a middle, and a laſt part. But its firſt parts, as having the moſt excellent ſubſiſtence, muſt always exiſt according to nature; and its laſt parts muſt ſometimes ſubſiſt according to, and ſometimes contrary to nature. Hence the celeſtial bodies, which are the firſt parts of the univerſe, perpetually ſubſiſt according to nature, both the whole ſpheres, and the multitude co-ordinate to theſe *wholes** ; and the only alteration which they experience is a mutation of figure, and variation of light at different periods: but in the ſublunary region, while

* For an account of the *wholes* which the univerſe contains, and which form one of the moſt intereſting parts of the Platonic philoſophy, ſee my Introduction to the Timæus of Plato.

the

the ſpheres of each of the elements remain on account of their ſubſiſtence as *wholes*, always according to nature, the parts of theſe wholes have ſometimes a natural and ſometimes an unnatural ſubſiſtence: for thus alone can the circle of generation unfold all the variety which it contains.

But the different periods in which theſe mutations happen, are called by Plato, with great propriety, periods of *fertility* and *ſterility*: for in theſe periods a fertility or ſterility of men, animals and plants takes place; ſo that in fertile periods mankind will be both more numerous, and upon the whole ſuperior in mental and bodily endowments to the men of a barren period. And a ſimilar reaſoning muſt be extended to animals and plants. This is ſignified by Plato, though obſcurely, in the following paſſage from the eighth book of his Republic: χαλεπον μεν συμβηναι πολιν ουδε ξυσασαν. αλλ' επει γενομενη παντι φθορα εστιν, ουδ' η τοιαυτη ξυστασις τον απαντα μενει χρονον, αλλα λυθησεται. λυσις δε ηδε. ου μονον φυτοις εγγειοις, αλλα και εν επιγειοις ζωοις φορα, εν αφορια ψυχης τε, και σωματων γιγνεται, οταν περιτροπαι εκαστης κυκλων περιφορας συναπτωσι βραχυβιοις μεν βραχυπορους, εναντιοις δε εναντιας. i. e. "It is difficult for a city ſo conſtituted to be moved from its eſtabliſhment. But ſince every thing which is generated is obnoxious to corruption, neither can a conſtitution of this kind remain perpetually, but muſt be diſſolved. And its diſſolution is this: *A fertility and ſterility of ſoul and bodies not only takes place in terrene plants, but alſo in terrene animals, when the revolutions of each of theſe conjoin the ambits of their circles; which are ſhorter to the ſhorter-lived, and contrarywiſe to the contrary.*"

The ſo much celebrated heroic age, therefore, was the reſult of one of theſe fertile periods, in which men, tranſcending the herd of mankind both in practical and intellectual virtue, abounded on the earth. But in conſequence of that beautiful progreſſion of things which takes place throughout the univerſe, viz. in conſequence of multitude every where being ſuſpended from a monad, or uniting cauſe; and multitude exquiſitely allied

to

to its monad preceding diſſimilar multitude, it is neceſſary that each of theſe heroic ſouls ſhould be the leader of other ſouls of an inferior rank, but yet reſembling their leader in a high degree. Thus Achilles in the Iliad, who, as we have obſerved in a former note, is an heroic ſoul energizing according to practical virtue, ſtands at the head of a kindred multitude of ſouls, who, from their proximity to ſuch characters as himſelf, are dignified with the appellation of heroes. Ajax belonged to this kindred multitude, together with Tidydes, Ulyſſes, and many others; this multitude at the ſame time poſſeſſing gradations of excellence, in order that its extremity may coaleſce with leſs elevated ſouls. It is therefore by no means wonderful, that Ajax poſſeſſed ſuch remarkable ſtrength and magnitude of body, as he belonged to that claſs of ſouls who approximate very near to real heroes among men.

But a very natural doubt may here ariſe in the mind of the thinking reader, why Æneas, who is ſaid to have been born of a goddeſs, as well as Achilles, and of a goddeſs of a much higher rank than the mother of Achilles, is repreſented by Homer as engaged in a bad cauſe, which he evidently is, by fighting for the Trojans. I anſwer, that the doubt may be ſolved, by reading Homer with that profound attention which his poems ſo juſtly demand. For we ſhall find, that though he calls Æneas a hero, as well as Achilles, from his reſembling true heroes in many reſpects, yet he plainly evinces that his claim to this character was not incontrovertible, when he repreſents Apollo thus ſpeaking to Æneas: (Iliad. 20. v. 105.)

——κ᾽ δε σε φασι Διος κουρης Αφροδιτης
Εκγεγαμεν.

i. e. "For THEY SAY that you are deſcended from Venus the daughter of Jupiter." For here the term *they ſay* plainly indicates that his claim to this honour was ambiguous: but he never uſes an expreſſion of this kind when he ſpeaks of Achilles. I add, that theſe periods of fertility and ſterility depend on the different

different circulations of the heavens: and that this theory ſolves at once all that appears ſo abſurd to perſons ignorant of true philoſophy in many of the relations of ancient hiſtorians: I mean, the accounts they give of animals which no where exiſt at preſent; and their aſcribing properties to ſuch animals as now exiſt, ſo different from what they are now found to poſſeſs. For it evidently follows, that in fertile periods animals muſt exiſt which are unknown to barren periods; and that all the tribes of animals muſt upon the whole be ſuperior in every reſpect: juſt as in fertile ground, and in fertile ſeaſons, the produce is more abundant, the ſpecies of production are more various, and their qualities ſuperior to what are found in the produce of barren ground, in the barren ſeaſons of the year.

But the following account of human bones of prodigious magnitude which have been diſcovered, will I doubt not be acceptable to the reader, in addition to the hiſtories of this kind given by Pauſanias. The author of this account is Phlegon Trallianus; and it is taken from his little treatiſe, *On admirable things; and On thoſe that have lived to a great age.* "Not many years ſince, in Meſſene, Apollonius ſays, that a large ſtone veſſel was broke through violent tempeſts, and a great inundation of water, and that a head was waſhed out of it, three times as large as that of a man, with two rows of teeth. An inſcription informed thoſe that were endeavouring to find whoſe head it was, that it was the head of Idas: for this was the inſcription, ΙΔΕΩ, i. e. OF IDAS. The Meſſenians, therefore, at the public coſt provided another veſſel, and placed in it the remains of the hero in ſuch a manner, that they were more ſecure than before, as they perceived that this was the perſon of whom Homer* ſays:

Idas the ſtrongeſt of the mortal race
That flouriſh'd then, who for a beauteous nymph
Dar'd with Apollo Phœbus to contend,
And aim his arrows at the radiant king.

* Iliad. 9. v. 554.

"In

"In Dalmatia too, in that which is called the cavern of Diana, many bodies may be ſeen, whoſe ribs exceed ſixteen cubits.

"But the grammarian Apollonius relates that there was an earthquake during the reign of Tiberius Nero, through which many celebrated cities of Aſia were entirely deſtroyed, but which Tiberius afterwards rebuilt at his own expence; for which benefit the Aſiatics made a coloſſal ſtatue of him, and placed it near the temple of Venus, which is in the forum of the Romans: and after this, they placed the ſtatues of the ſeveral cities that had been rebuilt. Not a few too of the cities of Sicily ſuffered through this earthquake, and places near Rhegium, together with ſeveral of the cities in Pontus. But in thoſe parts in which the earth was rent aſunder, very large dead bodies were found; the magnitude of which indeed ſo aſtoniſhed the inhabitants, that they were unwilling to move them. That the affair however might be generally known, they ſent to Rome one of the teeth of theſe bodies; and this was more than a foot long. The ambaſſadors, at the ſame time they ſhewed this to Tiberius, aſked him whether he wiſhed that the hero to whom this tooth belonged ſhould be brought to him. Upon this, Tiberius very prudently thought of a means by which he might neither be deprived of knowing the dimenſions of this body, nor yet be guilty of the impiety of robbing the dead. He ordered a celebrated geometrician, whoſe name was Pulcrus, and whom he honoured for his art, to be called, and deſired him to make a face in proportion to the ſize of that tooth. The geometrician therefore, having calculated from the ſize of the tooth the dimenſions of the face and of the whole body, accompliſhed the taſk impoſed on him with great celerity, and brought the face to the Emperor, who, after he had ſatisfied himſelf with beholding it, ordered the tooth to be reſtored to the place from whence it was taken.

"Nor ought we to refuſe our aſſent to this narration, ſince there is a place in Egypt called Litræ, in which bodies are to be ſeen not leſs in ſize than the above-mentioned, and theſe not buried in the

the earth, but expoſed to the view, neither confuſed nor diſturbed, but placed in proper order, ſo that he who looks at them can tell, which are the bones of the thighs, legs, and other members. It is not therefore by any means proper to diſbelieve theſe accounts: but we ought to think that at firſt, nature being very vigorous cauſed every thing to approach near to the perfection of the gods*; and that becoming afterwards debilitated, the magnitude of bodies alſo decreaſed. I am likewiſe informed, that at Rhodes there are bones which far ſurpaſs in magnitude the bones of men of the preſent day. And the ſame Apollonius ſays, that there is a certain iſland near Athens, which the Athenians fortified with walls; and that when they were digging the foundations of theſe walls, they found a ſepulchre of one hundred cubits in length, in which there was a ſkeleton of the ſame dimenſions with the ſepulchre, with this inſcription: *I Macroſeiris, who lived five thouſand years, am buried in a long iſland.*

"Eumachus, in his deſcription of the earth, ſays that the Carthaginians, when they were digging a trench in their own country, found two ſkeletons placed in coffins, one of which was twenty-three, and the other twenty-four cubits in length.

"And Theopompus Sinopenſis, in his Treatiſe on Earthquakes, ſays, that a ſudden earthquake happening in the Cimmerian Boſphorus, a certain hill was rent aſunder, and bones of a prodigious magnitude were thrown out of it: for the length of the whole ſkeleton was found to be twenty-four cubits. He adds, that the Barbarians who dwelt about thoſe parts threw theſe bones into the lake Mæotis."

Page 104. *The pancratium.*] This was a mode of wreſtling and boxing, in which it was lawful to uſe any kind of play, in order to obtain the victory.

Page 109. *Peleus vowed his hair to the river Sperchius.*] The

* This opinion is very natural to a mind unacquainted with the various circulations of the heavens.

verſes

verſes of Homer alluded to by Pauſanias are theſe, which may be found in the 23d book of the Iliad:

Sperchius! whoſe waves in mazy errours loſt
Delightful roll along my native coaſt!
To whom my father vow'd at my return,
Theſe locks to fall, and hecatombs to burn.

I only add, that the obſcure and intricate mode of expreſſion employed by Pauſanias in the preſent paſſage, and which he ſo frequently adopts, led me into an error in the tranſlation of it, from not recollecting at the time the verſes of Homer alluded to. I beg the reader, therefore, to correct the paſſage as follows: "*that Peleus vowed the hair of Achilles to the river Sperchius, for his ſafe return from Troy.*"

Page 109. *Mild Jupiter.*] It appears that *Jupiter Milichius*, or *mild Jupiter*, is the ſame with that power called *the Dæmon*, in the Orphic hymns: for in the hymn to him he is expreſsly called μειλιχιον Δ α, *mild Jupiter*. It appears too, that this deity is the ſame with the Janus of the Romans. For in the hymn juſt cited there is the following line:

Εν σοι γαρ λυσης τε χαρας κληιδε; οχουνται.

i. e.

"In thee, the keys of joy and ſorrow are carried."

And Janus, it is well known, was repreſented as a porter. Scaliger indeed, in the tranſlation of this line, expreſsly aſſigns two epithets to this divinity, which belong only to Janus, i. e. *Patulcius* and *Cluſius*, *the power that opens and ſhuts*.

Lætitiæ, mærori, *Patulciu'*, *Cluſius* idem es.

Indeed, that Jupiter is the ſame with Janus, is indiſputably clear, from the following verſe of a MS. hymn in my poſſeſſion, of Proclus, which is entitled Υμνος κοινος, or *a common hymn*:

Χαιρ' Ιανι προπαλωρ ζευ αφθιτε·——

i. e.

"Grandfather Janus, Jove immortal, hail!"

And

And here it may not be improper to obſerve as a circumſtance truly admirable, that Orpheus, Homer, Plato, and the Chaldæan oracles, have unanimouſly characterized Jupiter by the duad. Thus both Orpheus and Plato call him by a two-fold name δια and ζηνα; the former ſignifying that he is the cauſe *through which* things ſubſiſt; and the latter his vivific power: for he is the firſt cauſe of vivification. Plato too, in the Parmenides, characterizes him by the dialectic epithets, *ſameneſs* and *difference*. Homer places two urns by his throne. And he is called by the Chaldæan oracles δις επεκεινα, *twice beyond*. The two faces of Janus, therefore, as he is the ſame with the Jupiter of the Greeks, admirably correſpond with the dual characteriſtic aſſigned to that divinity by the moſt ancient theologiſts.

I add, that the reader muſt not be diſturbed on finding that *Jupiter* is called a *dæmon*, as this epithet is only given to him in the way of *analogy*. For, as it is the employment of *eſſential* dæmons to attend on the gods, and proximately preſide over inferior natures; ſo each ſubordinate order of gods, from following the operations of its proximate ſuperior order, and preſiding over ſubject natures, may be called analogically, dæmoniacal with reſpect to that order. It is in this ſenſe of the word that Plato, in the Timæus, calls the ſublunary gods *dæmons* in one place, and in another *gods of gods*; and that in the Banquet, he calls *Love* a *mighty dæmon*, and in the Phædrus a *god*. But not only gods were called dæmons by ancient theologiſts, but intellects, ſouls, dæmons, and even men were called gods by them. Each, however, was thus denominated in a different reſpect. For *intellects* were called gods *according to union; ſouls, according to participation; dæmons, according to contact*; and *men, according to ſimilitude*: while, in the mean time, ſuch as are properly gods were aſſigned this appellation *eſſentially*. The obſervation of theſe diſtinctions will enable the philoſophic reader to ſolve many apparent inconſiſtencies in the writings of ancient theologiſts, and convince him that the ancients believed

in beings ſuperior to the dæmoniacal order. By the power therefore called *the Dæmon*, which ſo often occurs in Pauſanias, we muſt underſtand *Jupiter*.

Page 109. *But he that has been initiated in the Eleuſinian myſteries, &c.*] From the preſent paſſage, in conjunction with ſome other authorities which I ſhall adduce, we may collect no contemptible argument in favour of the opinion, that the Orphic hymns which exiſt at preſent were the very hymns which were uſed in the Eleuſinian myſteries. "For (ſays Pauſanias) it is not lawful to aſcribe the invention of beans to Ceres; and he that has been initiated in the Eleuſinian myſteries, or has read the poems called Orphic, will know what I mean." Now Porphyry De Abſtinentia, lib. 4, informs us, that *beans* were forbidden in the Eleuſinian myſteries*; and in the Orphic hymn to *Earth*, the ſacrificer is ordered to fumigate from every kind of ſeed, except *beans* and aromatics. Again, Suidas informs us, that τελετη means *a myſtic ſacrifice, the greateſt and moſt venerable of all others*, θυσια μυςηριωδης, η μεγιςη ϗ τιμιωτερα. And Proclus, whenever he ſpeaks of the Eleuſinian myſteries, calls them *the moſt holy teletai*, αγιωταται τελεται†. Agreeably to this, the Orphic hymns are called in the Thryllitian manuſcript τελεται: and Scaliger juſtly obſerves, that they contain nothing but ſuch invocations as were uſed in *myſteries*.. Beſides, many of the hymns are expreſsly thus called by the author of them. Thus the concluſion of the hymn to Protogonus invokes that deity to be preſent at "*the holy telete*," ες τελετην αγιαν: of the hymn to the ſtars, to be preſent "*at the very learned labours of the illuſtriouſly-holy telete*;

Ελθετ' επ' ευιερου τελετης πολυϊςορας αθλους.

And in the concluſion of the hymn to Latona, the ſacrifice is called an *all-divine telete*. Βαιν' επι πανθειον τελετην, as likewiſe in that

* Παραγγελλεται γαρ και Ελευσινι απεχεσθαι και καλοικιδιων ορνιθων, και ιχθυων και κυαμων, ροιας τε και μηλων. p. 353. Edit. Trajec.

† In Plat. Theol. p. 371, et in MS. Comment. in Alcibiad.

of

of the hymn to Amphietus Bacchus. And in short, the greater part of the hymns will be found to have either the word *telete* in them; or to invoke the respective divinities to bless *the mystics*, or *initiated persons*. Thus the conclusion of the hymn to Heaven entreats that divinity to confer a blessed life on *a recent mystic*:

Κλυθ' επαγων ζωην οσιαν μυστη νεοφαντη—

the conclusion of the hymn to the Sun, "*to bestow a pleasant life on the mystics:*" and in a similar manner most of the rest.

Farther still, Demosthenes, in his first Oration against Aristogiton, has the following remarkable passage: και την απαραιτητον και σεμνην δικην, ην ο τας αγιωτατας ημιν τελετας καταδειξας Ορφευς παρα τον του Διος θρονον φησι καθημενην, παντα τα των ανθρωπων εφοραν. i. e. "Let us reverence inexorable and venerable Justice, who Orpheus our instructor in *the most holy teletai*, says, is seated by the throne of Jupiter, and inspects all the affairs of men." Here Demosthenes you see calls the mysteries *most holy*, as well as Proclus: and I think we may conclude with the greatest confidence from all that has been said, that he alluded to the hymn to Justice, which is among the Orphic hymns, and to these very lines:

Ομμα Δικης μελπω παλιδερκεος, αγλαομορφου
Ἡ ζηνος ανακτος επι θρονον ιερον ιζει,
Ουρανοθεν καθορωσα βιον θνητων πολυφυλων.

i. e. "I sing the all-seeing eye of splendid Justice, who sits by the throne of king Jupiter, and from her celestial abode beholds the life of mortal men."

Page 112. *Homer calls these daughters, &c.*] Pausanias doubtless alludes to Homer's hymn to Ceres: but these names are not to be found in the hymn at present, owing to an unfortunate chasm in a part of the hymn where they were mentioned.

Page 114. *The poet Pamphus.*] Pamphus was an Athenian contemporary with Linus, and is said to have composed poems and hymns prior to Homer.

Page 117. *The twelve gods, as they are called.*] Theſe twelve divinities are, Jupiter, Neptune, Vulcan, Veſta, Minerva, Mars, Ceres, Juno, Diana, Mercury, Venus, Apollo. The firſt triad of theſe gods is *demiurgic;* the ſecond, *defenſive;* the third, *vivific;* and the fourth, *elevating* and *harmonic.* Theſe divinities according to their firſt ſubſiſtence, conſidered as characterized by the number twelve, form that order of gods which is called απολυτος, or *liberated,* by the Chaldæan theologiſts, but υπερουρανιος, *ſuperceleſtial,* by the Greeks, becauſe it is immediately ſituated above the mundane gods. But theſe gods are received from the liberated order into the world. Hence, as Salluſt obſerves in his elegant little work, On the Gods and the World*: "Of theſe gods, ſome are the cauſes of the world's exiſtence; others animate the world; others again harmonize it, thus compoſed from different natures; and others laſtly guard and preſerve it when harmonically arranged." He adds; "The truth of this may be ſeen in ſtatues as in ænigmas. For Apollo harmonizes the lyre, Pallas is inveſted with arms, and Venus is naked; ſince harmony generates beauty, and beauty is not concealed in objects of ſenſible inſpection. But ſince theſe gods primarily poſſeſs the world, it is neceſſary to conſider the other gods as ſubſiſting in theſe; as Bacchus in Jupiter, Æſculapius in Apollo, and the Graces in Venus. We may likewiſe behold the orbs with which they are connected; viz. Veſta with earth, Neptune with water, Juno with air, and Vulcan with fire. But the ſix ſuperior gods we denominate from general cuſtom; for we aſſume Apollo and Diana for the ſun and moon; but we attribute the orb of Saturn to Ceres, æther to Pallas; and we aſſert that heaven is common to them all."

Page 119. *Bacchus Nyctelius.*] So called, becauſe his myſteries were celebrated by night.

Page 119. *Venus Verticordia.*] Thus denominated, according to Gyraldus, becauſe ſhe *turns the heart* to chaſtity. Vid. Valer. Maxim. lib. viii.

* Cap. vi.

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Page 119. *The Oracle of Night.*] The following myſtic particulars reſpecting the Oracle of Night are given us by Proclus, in Tim. p. 63, and p. 96. "The artificer of the univerſe, prior to his whole fabrication, is ſaid to have betaken himſelf to the Oracle of Night, to have been there filled with divine conceptions, to have received the principles of fabrication, and (if it be lawful ſo to ſpeak) to have ſolved all his doubts. Night too calls upon the father Jupiter to undertake the fabrication of the univerſe: and Jupiter is ſaid by the theologiſt (Orpheus) to have thus addreſſed Night:

Μαια θεων υπατη, Νυξ αμβροτε, πως ταδε φρασεις;
Πως δει μ' αθανατων αρχην κρατεροφρονα θεσθαι;
Πως δε μοι εν τι τα παντ' εςαι, και χωρις εκαςον:

i. e.

O Nurſe, ſupreme of all the powers divine,
Immortal Night! how with unconquer'd mind
Muſt I the ſource of the immortals fix?
And how will all things but as one ſubſiſt,
Yet each its nature ſeparate preſerve?

To which interrogations the goddeſs thus replies:

Αιθερι παντα περιξ αφατῳ λαβε· τῳ δ' ειι μεσσω
Ουρανον, εν δε τε γαιαν απειριτον, εν δε θαλασσαν,
Εν δε τε τειρεα παντα, τα' τ' ουρανος εςεφανωτο.

i. e.

All things receive incloſ'd on ev'ry ſide,
In æther's wide, ineffable embrace:
Then, in the midſt of æther place the heav'n,
In which let earth of infinite extent,
The ſea, and ſtars the crown of heav'n, be fixt.

"And Jupiter is inſtructed by Night in all the ſubſequent mundane fabrication: but after ſhe has laid down rules reſpecting all other productions, ſhe adds:

Αυταρ επην δεσμον κρατερον εστι πασι τανυσης,
Σειρην χρυσειην εξ αιθερος αρτησαντα·

i. e.

But when your pow'r around the whole has spread
A strong coercive bond, a golden chain
Suspend from æther."

Thus far Proclus. But the first subsistence of the goddess Night is at the summit of that divine order, which is called by the Chaldæan theologists νοητος ϗ νοερος, *intelligible and at the same time intellectual*. She is besides the mother of the gods, who are nourished with intelligible food from the contemplation of her divinity: and on this account she is called the nurse of the gods. Proclus therefore, in the above passages, speaks of Night according to this her first subsistence: but in the passage before us of Pausanias, we must consider this goddess according to her mundane subsistence. I only add, that the Chaldæan doctrine of other purer worlds above the inerratic sphere seems, from the Orphic verses just cited, to have been known to and embraced by Orpheus. For the Chaldæan theologists, as I have proved in my Notes on the Cratylus of Plato, believed, that there were seven corporeal worlds: one empyrean, three ethereal, and three material; which last three consist of the inerratic sphere, the planetary spheres, and the sublunary region. And in one of the above cited Orphic verses, Jupiter is ordered to receive all things inclosed in æther; plainly indicating that there is something ethereal beyond the sensible heavens.

Page 122. *Gods that are called Prodromean.*] i. e. *Antecessors*: for, as among the genera superior to mankind some are the antecessors of the gods; in like manner certain subordinate orders of gods may be called the fore-runners of superior orders, considered as preparing, by their light, natures inferior to the divine for the reception of illumination from a prior order of gods. Alcathous, therefore, very properly sacrificed to these gods before he began to raise the wall of the tower.

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Page 123. *Upon which they ſay Apollo laid his harp.*] As the characteriſtics of all the divine orders are participated by the laſt of things, hence a veſtige of ſupernal light is not only viſible in plants, but in particular ſtones. Thus, as Proclus obſerves in his ſmall treatiſe De Magia, "the ſun-ſtone by its golden rays imitates thoſe of the ſun; but the ſtone called the eye of heaven, or of the ſun, has a figure ſimilar to the pupil of an eye, and a ray ſhines from the middle of the pupil. Thus too the lunar ſtone, which has a figure ſimilar to the moon when horned, by a certain change of itſelf, follows the lunar motion. And the ſtone called *Helioſelenus*, i. e. *of the ſun and moon*, imitates after a manner the congreſs of thoſe luminaries, which it images by its colour." This being the caſe, it is by no means wonderful, that there ſhould be certain ſtones which poſſeſs a debile veſtige of the divine harmony of Apollo: and the ſtone mentioned by Pauſanias, from its being one of this kind, may have occaſioned the fabulous report, that Apollo laid his harp on it.

Page 125. *An heroic monument of Ino.*] By Ino the ancients ſignified ſymbolically the ſublunary element water, as the following paſſage from the MS. Commentary of Olympiodorus on the Phædo evinces: ο καδμος μεν ο υποσεληνος κοσμος ως διονυσιακος, διο και αρμονια συνεζευκται τω θεω, και των τεσσαρων βακχων πατηρ. τεσσαρα δε στοιχεια διονυσιακα ποιουσι, σεμελη μεν το πυρ, αγαυη δε την γην, διασπασασα τα οικεια γεννηματα, ινω δε το υδωρ, αναλιος ουσα, αυτονοη δε τον αερα, ο λοιπον. i. e. "Cadmus is the ſublunary world, as being Dionyſiacal, on which account Harmony is united to the god, and as being the father of the four Bacchuſes. But they make the four elements to be Dionyſiacal; viz. *fire* to be *Semele*; *earth*, *Agave*, tearing in pieces her own offſpring; *water*, *Ino*; and laſtly *air*, *Autonoe*."

Page 125. *Heſiod in his catalogue of women, &c.*] The meaning of Heſiod, in the paſſage alluded to by Pauſanias in his *Catalogue of Women* (which work is unfortunately loſt), is this, as it appears to me; Iphigenia after her death became united with

Hecate, from whom ſhe originally deſcended; and on this account might be ſaid to be changed into Hecate, on account of wholly ſubſiſting through union, according to the characteriſtic of that goddeſs. I only add, that according to Orpheus, as we are informed by Proclus on the Cratylus, there is a great union between Diana, the mundane Hecate, and Proſerpine; and that Orpheus calls Diana, Hecate.

Page 125. *Herodotus writes.*] In Melpom. p. 133. edit. Baſil.

Page 127. *Hecaerge and Opis.*] Theſe are two names of Diana, the former alluding to the emiſſion of the moon's rays, and ſignifying *far-darting;* and the latter alluding to the beauty of Diana's countenance: for *Opis*, according to Callimachus, in his hymn to this goddeſs, ſignifies *a beautiful countenance:*

Ουνι ανασσ' ημιν, φαισφορε.

Page 127. *Imeros and Apothos.*] According to Plato in the Cratylus, the former of theſe words ſignifies *amatorial deſire of a preſent object*, and the latter, *deſire of an abſent object.*

Page 129. *Apollo Tutelaris.*] i. e. Apollo, *the guardian of the city:* for every city, as is well known, according to the ancient theology, has its guardian deity. But we learn from Olympiodorus in Comment. MS. in Platonis Alcibiadem, that of the mundane gods from which bodies alone are ſuſpended, ſome are *celeſtial* ερανιοι, others *etherial* or *fiery* αιθεριοι five πυριοι, others *aerial* αιριοι, others *aquatic* ενυδροι, others *terreſtrial* χθονιοι, and others *ſubtartarean* υποταρταριοι. But that among the *terreſtrial*, ſome *preſide over climates*, or are *climatarchic* κλιματαρχαι, others are *guardians of cities* πολιουχοι, and others laſtly are *the guardians of houſes* κατοικιδιοι. Let the reader too carefully remember, that theſe allotments of the divinities are immutable; viz. that though parts of the earth may become at times unfit to receive divine influence, through ſubſiſting contrary to nature, as I have obſerved in a former note, yet the beneficent illuminations of the gods continue invariably the ſame.

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Page 129. *And Latona.*] The following admirable account of Latona, from the MSS. Scholia of Proclus on the Cratylus, cannot fail of being highly acceptable to the Platonic reader. "Latona is a vivific fountain comprehended in Ceres: *and hence, according to the Grecian rites, she is worshipped as the same with Ceres*, these rites evincing by this, the union of the goddesses. But this goddess emits the whole of vivific light, illuminating the intellectual essences of the gods, and the orders of souls: and lastly, she illuminates the whole sensible heaven, generating mundane light, and establishing the cause of this light in her offspring, Apollo and Diana; and causes all things to glitter with intellectual and vivific light. She imparts likewise to souls the consummation of virtue, and an illumination which leads them back to the intellectual port of their father*, hastily withdrawing them from the winding paths of matter†, the entanglements of vice, and the roughness of the passage over the sea of generation. It appears to me indeed, that theologists considering this, denominated her λητω Latona, on account of her extending to souls *smoothness* of manners, a voluntary life, and divine gentleness and ease. For to such as raise themselves to her divinity, she imparts an ineffable energy, a blameless life, gentleness of manners, serenity, and intellectual tranquillity. Whether therefore she is called Leto, from a voluntary life; for λω signifies το βουλομαι *I am willing*; or from το λειον *the smooth*, her name will perfectly evince through both these, the powers which she possesses. For the compelled energies of the soul take place through material roughness, and the obliquity of a life in generation diminishes the soul's voluntary life. But an ascent to the gods imparts a smooth and gentle, instead of a hard and rough, and a voluntary, instead of a compelled life.

Why then is it necessary to call, as some do, Latona matter, as capable of being easily turned, and subsisting as an express

* i. e. Jupiter.

† Of these winding paths the Dedalean labyrinth is an image.

resemblance

reſemblance of all forms, like a mirror receiving the repreſentations of all things; and to ſay that ſhe is the cauſe of oblivion to thoſe that look into her? Why is it neceſſary to call Apollo harmony, as ſubſiſting from Latona and Jupiter? For thus the god would be inſeparable from matter, and not the cauſe of the harmony in the univerſe. It is better therefore to ſay, that Latona is not the receptacle of Apollo, but that ſhe is the mother and fountain of all vivific light, which preſerves all things by heat: but that Apollo, who is a ſeparate divinity, is the ſupplier of all harmonic life, and of all thoſe mundane reaſons by which the univerſe is indiſſolubly bound. But you may ſay that Socrates derives her name from *Lethe*, becauſe ſhe peculiarly cauſes in ſouls an oblivion of evils, and of the roughneſs and ſtorms in generation; of which while the ſoul retains the memory, ſhe cannot poſſibly eſtabliſh herſelf in intelligibles: for memory, ſays Plotinus, leads to the object of memory. And as Mnemoſyne excites the memory of intelligibles, ſo Latona imparts an oblivion of material concerns."

Page 130. *Diana the Saviour.*] The epithet of *the Saviour*, as may be inferred from Proclus on the Cratylus, was given by the ancients to all the celeſtial gods in common. For, ſpeaking of the Chriſtians of his time, he obſerves: "Men of the preſent day do not believe that the ſun and moon are divinities, nor do they worſhip the other celeſtial natures, who are our *Saviours* and governours, leading back immortal ſouls, and being thoſe that fabricate and give ſubſiſtence to mortal ſouls*. I ſhould however ſay, that men of this kind, who dare to entertain ſuch an irrational opinion reſpecting the celeſtial gods, are haſtening to Tartarus, and to the moſt ineffable and inordinate part of the univerſe."

Page 136. *Neptune contended with the Sun.*] There are two ways of conſidering the battles of the gods, which are ſo much celebrated in fable; and each of theſe ſolves all the apparent

* i. e. to the ſouls of brutes.

abſurdity

abſurdity in which ſuch fables are involved. The firſt of theſe is from conſidering the orderly *diſtinction* in the progreſſion of all the divine genera from their ineffable ſource. I mean that ſome are the cauſes of *union*, and others of *ſeparation* to things poſterior; that ſome impart *a generating power*, and others *an undefiled purity* to ſubordinate natures; and that ſome impart a good, ſeparate from the nature of its recipient, but others ſuch a good as is conſubſiſtent with its receptacle. Now this diſtinction, and ſeeming oppoſition, in divine natures, was called by ancient mythologiſts contention and war. I ſay ſeeming oppoſition: for all divine natures ſubſiſt in the moſt perfect friendſhip and profound union with each other; and at the ſame time that the eſſence and energy of each are perfectly diſtinct, they are either all in all, which is the caſe with the divine unities, or all in each, which is the caſe with forms or ideas.

But the ſecond mode of conſidering the battles of the gods, is by regarding their progreſſions into the univerſe; in conſequence of which the laſt orders dependent on the gods, as they are produced by a long interval from the firſt cauſes, are contiguous to the ſubjects of their government, and adhere to matter, contract contrariety and all-various diviſion, and, by their proximate care of mortal concerns, are obnoxious to deſires and paſſions. Laſtly, on account of their great ſympathy with mortal concerns, and the partial providence which they exert for their welfare, they actually war with each other. But as even the laſt orders which perpetually follow the gods, preſerve the properties of their leaders, though in a partial and manifold manner, hence they were very properly called, by the ancients, by the names of the gods their reſpective leaders. Thus for inſtance, not only the deity who illuminates all things with ſupermundane light, and who ſits with Jupiter and the celeſtial gods, was called Apollo, but this name was given to the dæmon who was the guardian of Hector. This laſt mode indeed of conſidering battles among the gods, is the key, in the hands of the ſkilful,

ful, to the ſecret meaning of much of the mythology in the Iliad, and ſhews us how the relation here given by Pauſanias is to be underſtood. For it means, that certain dæmoniacal powers, who rank among the laſt attendants of the gods Neptune and the Sun, once contended with each other about the land of Corinth; and that Briareus, a dæmon belonging to the deity of that name, acted as a mediator between them. I only add farther, that theſe dæmons, who are thus proximate to the ſubjects of their government, and who are influenced by paſſions like men, are not *eſſentially* dæmons, though they are the perpetual attendants of the gods; but they are dæmons only κατα σχεσιν, *according to habitude, proximity*, and *alliance*. For between *eſſential* dæmons, who are the *conſtant* attendants of the gods, and men who are only *ſometimes* dæmons *according to habitude*, and *ſometimes* attendants of the gods, it is neceſſary there ſhould be an order of beings, who are *always* dæmons according to habitude, and *always* the attendants of the gods.

Page 141. *But there are three ſtatues of Jupiter, &c.*] It appears to me highly probable, that the three Jupiters, mentioned in this place by Pauſanias, are thoſe three brother deities, the offspring of Saturn, between whom, according to Homer, the univerſe is divided; or, in other words, that they are *Jupiter, Neptune*, and *Pluto*. For the ſecond of theſe ſtatues, ſays Pauſanias, is called *terreſtrial* Jupiter, which is an epithet of Pluto, as is evident from the Orphic hymn to that deity; and from Homer, as cited by Pauſanias, p. 204; and Neptune, in the Orphic hymn to Equity, is called marine Jupiter, πολιος εναλειος Ζευς. But that the reader may ſee the proceſſions and offices of theſe three demiurgic gods, who are ſupermundane deities according to their firſt ſubſiſtence, I ſhall preſent him with the following tranſlation from Proclus in Theol. Plat. p. 367.

"Theſe *ruling* gods repleniſh the apparent order of things in conjunction with the mundane gods; and diſtribute whole parts under the moon, in a manner different from their government in the

the heavens: but they every where energize according to a paternal and demiurgic mode, unfolding the one fabrication of the univerſe, and accommodating it to parts. But their allotment and diſtribution are firſt according to the whole univerſe: and one of theſe (Jupiter) produces the eſſences of things; but the ſecond (Neptune), lives and generations; and the third (Pluto) adminiſters the diviſions of forms. And one of theſe eſtabliſhes in the one demiurgus of the world every thing proceeding from thence: but the other evocates all things into progreſſion: and the third converts all things to himſelf. But their ſecond diſtribution is into the parts of the univerſe. For the firſt of theſe gods governs the inerratic ſphere, and its revolution. But the ſecond preſides over the planetary ſpheres, and perfects their multiform, efficacious, and prolific motions. And the laſt of theſe gods governs the ſublunary region, and perfects intellectually the terreſtrial world. But in the third place, we may contemplate theſe three demiurgic progreſſions in that which is generated. Jupiter therefore governs the ſummit of generated natures, and the ſphere of fire and air: but Neptune excites with an all-various motion the extremely-mutable elements, and is the inſpector and guardian of every humid eſſence ſubſiſting in air and water: and Pluto adminiſters by his providence the earth, and all which it contains; and on this account he is called *Terreſtrial Jupiter*.

"In the fourth place, with reſpect to the whole of generation, Jupiter is allotted the moſt exalted places, in which, as Socrates obſerves in the Phædo, the regions deſtined to bleſſed ſouls are contained; becauſe they live ſeparate from generation, under the government of Jove: but Neptune governs hollow places and caverns, in which generation, motion and concuſſions ſubſiſt; on which account he is called *the earth-ſhaking god:* and Pluto governs places under the earth, the various ſtreams of water, Tartarus, and the places in which ſouls are judged. Hence the ſouls which have not yet proceeded into generation, but abide in the intelligible place, are ſaid to be of the order of Jupiter: but ſuch

as

ſuch as live in generation are ſaid to be placed under Neptune. And thoſe which after generation are purified and puniſhed, and either wander under the earth for a thouſand years, or again return to their principle, are ſaid to live under Pluto. In the fifth place, the diſtributions of theſe gods are divided according to the centres of the univerſe. For Jupiter poſſeſſes the oriental centre, as being allotted an order correſpondent to that of fire: but Neptune obtains the middle centre, which correſponds to a vivific nature, and through which generation enjoys celeſtial natures: and Pluto obtains the weſtern centre; ſince the weſt is allied to earth, becauſe it is nocturnal, and the cauſe of obſcurity and darkneſs. For ſhade proceeds from the earth, and earth is the privation of light from weſt to eaſt. Laſtly, *according to every diviſion of the univerſe, ſuch natures as are firſt, and obtain the principality, belong to Jove; ſuch as are middle correſpond to the kingdom of Neptune; and ſuch as are laſt belong to the empire of Pluto.*"

Page 141. *Mercury in a fitting poſture, and by the ſide of him a ram.*] The reaſon why Mercury was repreſented by the ancients with a ram, depends on the intimate alliance of this god with Minerva, who, as we are informed by Proclus on the Timæus, preſides over that celeſtial conſtellation called the *ram*, and from thence imparts a motive power which governs the univerſe. But the agreement of Minerva with Mercury will be obvious from conſidering that this goddeſs, as we have before obſerved, extends the whole of *intellectual light*, and that Mercury is the ſource of the *reaſoning power*. Hence the ancients uſed to render the ſtatues of both theſe divinities one, by joining them together: and a ſtatue of this kind they called ἑρμαθηνη, *Hermathena*, or *Mercury-Minerva*. Theſe Hermathenæ are mentioned by Cicero in his books De Inventione. I only add, that the verſes of Homer cited by Pauſanias may be found Iliad 14. v. 490.

Page 144. *Minerva Chalinitis.*] i. e. *the Bridler.*

Page 147. *Iſis.*] Iſis is the ſame with Minerva, according to the Ægyptians, as we are informed by Plutarch, in his treatiſe of

Iſis and Oſiris. Proclus too in Tim. p. 30. ſays that according to the Ægyptian hiſtorians, there was the following inſcription on the ſtatue of Minerva, in the adytum of the temple: εγω ειμι παν το γεγονος, κ᾽ ον, κ᾽ εσομενον· κ᾽ τον εμον πεπλον ουδεις πω θνητος απεκαλυψεν· ον εγω καρπον ετεκον, ηλιος εγενετο. i. e. "I AM EVERY THING THAT HAS BEEN, THAT IS, AND THAT SHALL BE; AND NO MORTAL HAS EVER YET BEEN ABLE TO WITHDRAW MY VEIL. THE FRUIT WHICH I HAVE BROUGHT FORTH IS THE SUN."— It is remarkable that this inſcription, as far as to the firſt period, is cited by Plutarch in his above-mentioned treatiſe; but I know of no author except Proclus who has cited the latter part, "*the fruit which I have brought forth is the ſun;*" nor has this important addition been noticed by any modern writer that I am acquainted with, owing doubtleſs to the want of a *copious* index to theſe invaluable commentaries of Proclus.

As Iſis therefore is Minerva, and as the veil of this goddeſs, as I have obſerved in a former note, is an emblem of *Nature*, which proceeds from thoſe intellectual vital powers contained in the eſſence of Minerva, we may perceive the reaſon why the Arriians, Æthiopians and Ægyptians called *Nature* (as we are informed by Apuleius) *Iſis*. Likewiſe ſince the moon, as we learn from Proclus, is the αυτοπτον αγαλμα της φυσεως, *the ſelf-viſive image of Nature*, we may ſee why *Nature* was called by the Cretans, according to Apuleius in the ſame place, *Diana*. And in ſhort, as Minerva was juſtly called by the ancients κορυφη των θεων, *the ſummit of the gods*, and is therefore their ſource in conjunction with her father Jupiter, we may at one view ſee the propriety of her being called by the names of ſo many other goddeſſes, in the following ſublime paſſage from the Metamorphoſes of Apuleius: for, as every cauſe is that primarily which its effect is ſecondarily, Minerva is in a certain reſpect the ſame with all the divinities that proceed from her, when they are conſidered according to their cauſal ſubſiſtence in her eſſence.

The divinity of the moon, then, thus addreſſes the metamorphoſed

phoſed Apuleius: En adſum tuis commota, Luci, precibus, rerum Natura parens, elementorum omnium domina, ſeculorum progenies initialis, ſumma numinum, regina Manium, prima cælitum, Deorum Dearumque facies uniformis: quæ cæli luminoſa culmina, maris ſalubria flamina, inferorum deplorata ſilentia nutibus meis diſpenſo: cujus numen unicum, multiformi ſpecie, ritu vario, nomine multijugo totus veneratur orbis. Me primigenii Phryges Peſſinunticam nominant Deûm matrem. Hinc Autochthenes Attici Cecropiam Minervam; illinc fluctuantes Cyprii Paphiam Venerem: Cretes ſagittiferi Dictynnam Dianam; Siculi trilingues Stygiam Proſerpinam; Eleuſinii vetuſtam Deam Cererem: Junonem alii, allii Bellonam, alii Hecaten, Rhamnuſiam alii. Et qui naſcentis dei Solis inchoantibus radiis illuſtrantur, Æthiopes, Arriique, priſcaque doctrina pollentes Ægyptii cæremoniis me prorſus propriis percolentes appellant vero nomine reginam Iſidem. That is, "Behold, Lucius, moved with thy ſupplications I am preſent; I, who am *Nature*, the parent of things, queen of all the elements, initial progenitor of ages, the higheſt of divinities, queen of departed ſpirits, the firſt of the celeſtials, and the uniform appearance of gods and goddeſſes: who rule by my nod the luminous height of the heavens, the ſalubrious breezes of the ſea, and the deplorable ſilences of the infernal regions; and whoſe divinity, in itſelf but one, is venerated by all the earth, according to a multiform ſhape, various rites, and different appellations.—Hence, the primitive Phrygians call me Peſſinuntica, the mother of the gods; the native Athenians, Cecropian Minerva; the floating Cyprians, Paphian Venus; the arrow-bearing Cretans, Dictynnian Diana; the three-tongued Sicilians, Stygian Proſerpine; and the inhabitants of Eleuſis, the ancient goddeſs Ceres. Some again have invoked me as Juno, others as Bellona, others as Hecate, and others as Rhamnuſia: and thoſe who are enlightened by the emerging rays of the riſing ſun, the Æthiopians, Arriians, and Ægyptians, powerful in ancient learning, who reverence my divinity

divinity with ceremonies perfectly proper, call me by a true appellation queen Iſis."

Page 147. *Serapis.*] This divinity, as we learn from Plutarch in his treatiſe of Iſis and Oſiris, and Porphyry on Oracles as cited by Euſebius, is the ſame with the Pluto of the Greeks.

Page 147. *Ægina the daughter of Aſopus was raviſhed by Jupiter.*] What are we to underſtand by this relation? That this was once actually the caſe? But to ſuppoſe this would be abſurd in the extreme. As all ſuch relations therefore are very far from being literally true, we ſhould conſider them as fables in which ſome myſterious meaning is involved;—a meaning which from its ſublime nature ought to be concealed from the vulgar, as their eyes are too weak to ſuſtain the ſplendours of the higheſt truths. By raviſhment and adultery then between divine and human natures, ancient theologiſts meant to inſinuate that communication of energy between the two which we have taken notice of in a former note, in which we ſhewed how heroes may be ſaid to be the ſons of gods and goddeſſes. But as this communication of energy takes place through angels, dæmons, and *eſſential* heroes as mediums, hence the Jupiter mentioned in this fable muſt be conſidered as a dæmoniacal power of the ſeries of Jupiter, who by giving perfection to the natural life of Ægina, and removing every thing which would be an impediment to the fœtus in her womb, was ſaid to have raviſhed her.

Page 147. *Siſyphus.*] The following beautiful paſſage from the MSS. Scholia of Olympiodorus on the Gorgias of Plato fully unfolds the meaning of the fable reſpecting the puniſhment of Siſyphus. For the original of this paſſage I refer the reader to my Diſſertation on the Myſteries, p. 45. "Ulyſſes," ſays he, "deſcending into Hades, ſaw among others *Siſyphus*, and Tityus and Tantalus; and Tityus he ſaw lying on the earth, and a vulture devouring his liver; the liver ſignifying that he lived ſolely according to the deſiderative part of his nature, and through this was indeed internally prudent; but earth ſignifying the terreſtrial

condition of his prudence. But Sisyphus, living under the dominion of ambition and anger, was employed in continually rolling a stone up an eminence, because it perpetually descended again; its descent implying the vicious government of himself; and his rolling the stone, the hard, refractory, and as it were rebounding condition of his life. And lastly he saw Tantalus extended by the side of a lake, and that there was a tree before him, with abundance of fruit on its branches, which he desired to gather, but it vanished from his view; and this indeed indicates that he lived under the dominion of the phantasy: but his hanging over the lake, and in vain attempting to drink, implies the elusive, humid, and rapidly-gliding condition of such a life.".

Page 151. *Homer however refers them to a more illustrious origin.*] For according to Homer, Zethus and Amphion were the offspring of Jupiter, as is evident from the following lines from the Odyssey, book xi. v. 261.

> "There mov'd Antiope with haughty charms,
> "Who bless'd th' almighty thund'rer in her arms:
> "Hence sprung Amphion, hence brave Zethus came,
> "Founders of Thebes and men of mighty name."
>
> POPE.

Page 153. *Homer says.*] Iliad 2. v. 117. The translator of these verses is Mr. Pope.

Page 153. *Quinquertium.*] The five principal exercises in the Olympic games, *viz.* hurling the quoit, running, leaping, hurling the dart, and wrestling. The Romans added to these swimming and riding.

Page 155. *After Apollo and Diana had slain the serpent Python.*] Olympiodorus in Comment. MS. in Phædonem observes concerning *Python, Æchidna, and Typhon,* as follows:—— ο μεν τυφων της παντοιας των υπογειων πνευματων, και υδατων, και των αλλων στοιχειων βιαιου κινησεως αιτιος. η δε αιχιδνα τιμωριας αιτια και κολαστικη λογικων τε και αλογων ψυχων· διο τα μεν ανω παρθενος, τα δε κατω εστιν οφιωδης. ο δε πυθων φρουρος της μαντικης ολης αναδεσεως.

αμεινον

φερεινον δι της περι ταυτα ταραξιας τε και αντιφραξεως αιτιον λεγειν. That is, "*Typhon* is the cauſe of the violent motion of all-various ſubterranean vapours and waters, and the other elements. But *Æchidna* is an avenging cauſe, and the puniſher of rational and irrational ſouls; on which account her upper parts are thoſe of a virgin, and her lower parts reſemble thoſe of a ſerpent. And Python is the guardian of the whole of prophetic exhalation; or, we may ſay with greater propriety, that he is the cauſe of the diſorder and obſtruction about exhalations of this kind." As the prophetic power therefore proceeds originally from Apollo, the oppoſition of energy between Apollo and Python, and the dominion of that of the former over that of the latter, gave riſe to the fable mentioned in this place by Pauſanias. Diana too may be ſaid to have aſſiſted Apollo in ſlaying Python, in conſequence of the wonderful union between theſe two divinities.

Page 161. *For Heſiod ſays*] In his Works and Days, lib. i. v. 263.

Page 162. *Mercury Forenſis.*] Mercury was thus denominated as preſiding over affairs of *law:* and the propriety of this appellation will be evident from conſidering that Mercury is the ſource of *gymnaſtic, muſic, and reaſoning;* that *reaſoning* is an *intellectual* operation, and that *law*, as Plato (De Legibus) beautifully obſerves, is νου διανομη, *the diſtribution of intellect.* For the ſake of the liberal reader, I ſhall further obſerve concerning Mercury, that he is *the ſource of invention:* and hence he is ſaid to be the ſon of *Maia;* becauſe *ſearch*, which is implied by Maia, leads *invention* into light. He beſtows too *mathefis* on ſouls, by unfolding the will of his father Jupiter; and this he accompliſhes as the angel or meſſenger of Jupiter. Proclus in MS. Comment. in Alcibiad. obſerves, "that he is the inſpective guardian of *gymnaſtic exerciſes;* and hence *hermæ*, or carved ſtatues of Mercury, were placed in the Palæſtræ: of *muſic*, and hence he is honoured as *the lyriſt* λυραιος among the celeſtial conſtellations: and of *diſciplines*, becauſe the invention of geometry, reaſoning and

diſcourſe is referred to this god. He preſides therefore over every ſpecies of erudition, leading us to an intelligible eſſence from this mortal abode, governing the different herds of ſouls, and diſperſing the ſleep and oblivion with which they are oppreſſed. He is likewiſe the ſupplier of recollection, the end of which is a genuine intellectual apprehenſion of divine natures."

After this he obſerves that the different ages of our life on the earth correſpond to the order of the univerſe: "For our firſt age (ſays he) partakes in an eminent degree of the lunar operations; as we then live according to a nutritive and natural power. But our ſecond age participates of Mercurial prerogatives; becauſe we then apply ourſelves to letters, muſic and wreſtling. The third age is governed by Venus; becauſe then we begin to produce ſeed, and the generative powers of nature are put in motion. The fourth age is ſolar; for then our youth is in its vigour and full perfection, ſubſiſting as a medium between generation and decay; for ſuch is the order which vigour is allotted. But the fifth age is governed by Mars; in which we principally aſpire after power and ſuperiority over others. The ſixth age is governed by Jupiter; for in this we give ourſelves up to prudence, and purſue an active and political life. And the ſeventh age is Saturnian, in which it is natural to ſeparate ourſelves from generation, and transfer ourſelves to an incorporeal life. And thus much we have diſcuſſed, in order to procure belief that letters, and the whole education of youth, is ſuſpended from the Mercurial ſeries." I only add, that as the firſt gifts of this god are intellectual, ſo his laſt pertain to the acquiſition of gain. Hence he was called the god of *merchandiſe* and *theft*: for *craft*, as Plotinus beautifully obſerves, is a defluxion of intellect; and from theſe two profeſſions craft is inſeparable.

Page 162. *To Hercules as to a hero.*] The grand ſource, as it appears to me, of all that dire confuſion which has taken place in opinions reſpecting the gods, is the belief that they were nothing more than men who once lived on the earth, and after their death

death were deified for their exalted worth. This opinion too originated from a miſconception of divine fables, and ignorance of the manner in which every divine order proceeds to the extremity of things. For every god, as I have before obſerved, confers the characteriſtic of his nature on all its participants; and thoſe heroic ſouls that have at times appeared on the earth, and of whom we have given an account in a former note, conſcious that they poſſeſſed the properties of thoſe gods from whom they deſcended, called themſelves by the names of their parent divinities. Thus, heroic ſouls who deſcended from Jupiter, called themſelves by the name of that god. Thus a hero Æſculapius has lived among men, who deſcended from the god of that name. This too has been the caſe with an heroic Bacchus, Mercury, Apollo, and in ſhort with heroes of the ſame names with all the other gods. Hence we muſt conſider Hercules as a hero who deſcended from the deity of that name, who in his higheſt ſubſiſtence, according to the Orphic theology, is the ſame with the celebrated Phanes or Protogonus, the exemplar of the univerſe. As heroic ſouls therefore of this kind were, as we have before obſerved, called by the ancients gods *according to ſimilitude*, or in other words, from their approaching to the perfection of a divine nature as much as is poſſible to man, and particularly when liberated from the preſent body;—hence it is eaſy to ſee how Hercules may be a god, and yet a man; how the hero Hercules may be ſaid to have been deified after his death, without confounding the divine with the human nature; and in ſhort, how ignorance of this *moſt important* particular has given birth to the *delirious* ſyſtems of modern writers on mythology.

Page 164. *And on her head ſhe bears the pole.*] As the word πολος, *the pole*, was uſed by the ancients to ſignify *the heavens*, it ſeems to me evident that this ſtatue repreſented *Celeſtial Venus*.

Page 165. *Similar to the ſquare figures of Mercury.*] Proclus on Euclid * informs us that the Pythagoreans ſignified by a

* Lib. ii. in Def. 33 et 34.

ſquare a pure and immaculate order. And ſhortly after he adds, "that the gods who are the authors to all things of ſtable diſpoſition, of pure and uncontaminated order, and of uninclining power, are very properly manifeſted as from an image by a quadrangular figure." As it is the province therefore of Mercury to unfold and fill all things with truth, and *truth* is the ſame with *pure ſimplicity*; and as *ſtability of eſſence* is derived from *truth*, we may eaſily perceive the propriety of conſecrating a ſquare figure to Mercury. As Hercules too, according to his mundane diſtribution as a god, ſeems to be the ſame with the Sun, according to the Orphic theology, and Mercury, Venus and Apollo are deities of the ſame order, and profoundly united to each other, we cannot wonder that the ſtatues of Hercules ſhould reſemble thoſe of Mercury.

Page 165. *Averrunci.*] Theſe gods were worſhipped as *the averters of evil*, as their name implies.

Page 166. *Ceres Proſtaſia.*] That is, Ceres *to whom empire belongs.*

Page 168. *Sacred dragons.*] A *dragon*, as we have before obſerved, is a ſymbol of the partial life of the ſoul; and *health is ſymmetry, and a ſubſiſtence according to nature.* But the ſoul, while ſhe is ſeparated from the divinities, or in other words leads a partial life, lives in a manner contrary to her nature, and is diſeaſed. She requires therefore the aſſiſtance of Æſculapius, or the god of health, that ſhe may be reſtored to her true life. And hence the propriety of conſecrating dragons to Æſculapius. But a dragon may be conſidered as the ſymbol of partial life of every kind, and conſequently of that mortal life which is participated by the body, and which on the diſſolution of the corporeal frame returns to the *whole* from whence it was derived. This life therefore from its partial nature requires the aſſiſtance of Æſculapius, and this from its intimate connection with body in a moſt eminent degree; ſo that by conſecrating a dragon to Æſculapius, the ancients implied that this divinity is the phyſician both of ſouls and bodies.

Page 170. *The Rhodian poet.*] i. e. Apollonius in his Argonautics, lib. i.

Page 171. *Pythagoras was the ſon of Mneſarchus.*] Jamblichus in his Life of Pythagoras informs us, that *Mneſarchus* and Pythais, who were the parents of Pythagoras, deſcended from the houſe of Ancæus.

Page 172. *Hebe.*] This goddeſs is mentioned by Homer in the Iliad, lib. iv. v. 2; and in the Odyſſey, lib. xi. v. 602.

Page 173. *The apples of the Heſperides.*] The following beautiful paſſage from the MS. Commentary of Olympiodorus on the Gorgias of Plato, will inform the reader what he is to underſtand by the Heſperian regions. δει δε ειδεναι ὁτι αι νησοι υπερκειμενοι της θαλασσης ανωτερω ουσαι. την ουν πολιτειαν την υπερκυψασαν του ζειου και της γενεσεως, μακαρων νησους καλουσι. ταυτον δε εστι και το ηλυσιον πεδιον. διο και τουτο και ο ηρακλης τελευταιον αθλον εν τοις εσπεριοις μερεσιν επoιησαλο, ανθ' καθαγωνισαλο τον σκοτεινον και χθονιον βιον, και λοιπον εν ημερα, ο εστιν εν αληθεια και φωτι εζη. That is, "It it neceſſary to know, that iſlands ſtand out of, as being higher than the ſea. A condition of being therefore, which tranſcends this corporeal life and generation, is denominated the iſlands of the bleſſed; but theſe are the ſame with the Elyſian fields. Hence, Hercules is ſaid to have accompliſhed his laſt labour in the Heſperian regions; ſignifying by this, that having vanquiſhed an obſcure and terreſtrial life, he afterwards lived in open day, that is, in truth and reſplendent light." I only add, that the Heſperian golden apples which were plucked by Hercules, ſignify his reaping undefiled advantages, through arcane and teleſtic labours; for gold, from its incorruptible nature, is a ſymbol of purity.

Page 175. *His verſes.*] The tranſlator of the verſes here cited from Homer's hymn to Ceres, is Mr. Lucas.

Page 178. *Danaus.*] Danaus married his fifty daughters to his brother's fifty ſons, and cauſed all of them except Hypermneſtra to ſlay their huſbands the firſt night.

Page 179. *Homer.*] This verſe of Homer is in the Odyſſey, lib. ii. v. 120.

Page 181. *In one of her hands ſhe holds a pomegranate.*] Juno is a vivific goddeſs, and is the inſpective guardian of motion and progreſſion: and on this account (ſays Olympiodorus) in the Iliad ſhe perpetually rouſes and excites Jupiter to providential energies about ſecondary concerns. With reſpect to the pomegranate, the Emperor Julian, in his Oration to the Mother of the Gods, informs us, that it was not permitted to be eaten in the ſacred rites of the goddeſs, becauſe it is *a terreſtrial plant*. Perhaps therefore, by Juno holding a pomegranate in her hand, her dominion over earthly natures is implied.

Page 182. *With reſpect to the cuckoo, &c.*] Pauſanias is certainly right, when he ſays that ſuch relations as the preſent ought not to be neglected; though he was far from apprehending its meaning. The concealed ſenſe however of this fable appears to me to be as follows: Jupiter, deſirous that Juno, by participating his divine energies, ſhould become profoundly united to him (for this is the meaning of his being enamoured with Juno), is beheld by the goddeſs as ſubſiſting according to *ſublime wiſdom*. For a bird may be conſidered as the image of *elevation*: and a cuckoo, according to Ælian, is *a moſt wiſe bird*. Let it however be carefully remembered, that the divinities are profoundly united to each other perpetually, according to an energy ſeparate from mundane concerns, and yet at the ſame time providentially preſide over every part of the univerſe: but fables, in order to exhibit theſe different energies to our view, by apt images, are obliged to repreſent them as taking place at different times.

Page 183. *The reply of the Pythian oracle to Glaucus, the ſon of Epicides king of the Spartans* (read *and king of the Spartans*).] That children ſhould be puniſhed for the crimes of their parents, which the Pythian oracle ſaid, was the caſe with the poſterity of Pelops,

Pelops, or cities for the ſins of individuals, to a mind unenlightened by ſublime philoſophy, muſt appear highly abſurd and unjuſt. But if we direct our attention to the pre-exiſtence of human ſouls, and conſider that many are puniſhed in the preſent, for offences which they have committed in a former life; and that thoſe, whoſe guilt is of a ſimilar kind, are by the wiſe adminiſtration of providence brought together, ſo as to form one family, or one city, the apparent abſurdity in this doctrine immediately vaniſhes, and the equity of divine vengeance becomes conſpicuous. Proclus, in his book entitled *Ten Doubts concerning Providence*, informs us that the *myſteries* evince that certain perſons are puniſhed for the crimes of their progenitors, and that gods who preſide over expiations, λυσιοι θεοι, free offending ſouls from ſuch puniſhments.

Page 193. *The oracle.*] The whole of this oracle (for Pauſanias only gives the firſt part of it) is given by Herodotus, lib. vi.

Page 194. *Jupiter Phyxius.*] Jupiter was ſo called becauſe he aſſiſts fugitives.

Page 196. *The following lines.*] Theſe lines are in the laſt book of the Iliad, v. 765 and 6 of Mr. Pope's tranſlation.

Page 203. *Diſperſed the darkneſs from his eyes.*] The circumſtance reſpecting Diomed, here mentioned by Pauſanias, is related by Homer in the fifth book of the Iliad; where Minerva is repreſented thus addreſſing Diomed:

Αχλυν δ' αυ τοι απ' οφθαλμων ελον, ἡ πριν ἐπηεν,
Οφρ' ευ γιγνωσκῃς ἠμεν θεον, ἠδε καὶ ανδρα.

i. e.

"From mortal miſts thine eyes are purg'd by me;
And well enabled gods and men to ſee."

Minerva is with great propriety repreſented by Homer as thus employed: for ſhe not only enkindles intellectual light in the ſoul, but removes that darkneſs, which, when reſident in the eye of

of the ſoul, prevents it from beholding the nature of gods and men. And here it may not be improper to obſerve, that, through ignorance of ancient theology, a very beautiful paſſage in the fifth book of the Iliad has not been underſtood either by any of the tranſlators or commentators on Homer that I am acquainted with. This paſſage is in the beginning of the fifth book, and conſiſts of the 4th and 7th lines, which are theſe:

δαιε οι εκ κορυθος τε κ᾽ ασπιδος; ακαμαντον πυρ
τοιον οτε πυρ δαιεν απο κρατος τε κ᾽ ωμων.

Theſe lines, literally and truly tranſlated, are as follow:

"*She* (that is Minerva) *enkindled* an unwearied fire from his helmet and his ſhield." And, "Such a fire did *ſhe enkindle* from his head and his ſhoulders." But all the tranſlators render theſe lines, as if *unwearied fire* in the firſt line and *fire* in the ſecond were nominatives, and not accuſatives. I am indebted to Proclus in Plat. Polit. p. 353. for this information.

Page 204. *Three eyes.*] Theſe three eyes in the ſtatue of Jupiter were doubtleſs deſigned as ſymbols of thoſe three deities, Jupiter, Neptune, and Pluto, of whom we have given a copious account in a former note: and theſe eyes being fixed in one body, ſignify the profound union of theſe deities with each other. The verſe of Homer cited by Pauſanias is in the Iliad, lib. viii.

Page 212. *Homer.*] Iliad. 4. ver. 193. For what reaſon Pauſanias concludes that Æſculapius is called a god by Homer in theſe verſes, I cannot poſſibly conjecture. It cannot be from the epithet αμυμων *blameleſs*; for this is given by Homer to men; as to Chalcas in the firſt book of the Iliad, and to Ulyſſes in the Odyſſey: and there is no other word which ſeems in the leaſt to favour the conſtruction of Pauſanias.

Page 224. *Orus.*] This Egyptian deity is the ſame with Apollo and the Sun, according to Herodotus, lib. ii. 144. Ælian 10. 14. the Emperor Julian, orat. 4. Horapollo. lib. i. c. 17.

Plutarch

Plutarch de Iſide. Porphyry apud Euſeb. and Macrobius 1. Saturn. 20.

Page 224. *The ſignature of a trident.*] The following paſſage from the MS. Commentary of Olympiodorus on the Gorgias unfolds the meaning of Neptune's trident in a manner perfectly ſatisfactory, and at the ſame time ſhews the great beauty of the ſymbols employed by the ancients in their arcane theology. τριτλα εστι τα εγκοσμια, τα μεν ουρανια, τα δε χθονια, και τα μεταξυ τουτων, πυρια, αερινα, υδαλινα. και τουτων μεν τα ουρανια εχει ο ζευς, τα δε χθονια ο πλουτων, τα δε μεταξυ ο ποσειδων. δια τουτο ζευς σκηπτρον εχει, ως σημαινων το δικαστικον. ο δε ποσειδων δια τουτο τριαιναν, ως εφορος του τριτλου τουτου του μεταξυ. ο δε πλουτων κυνεην, δια το σκοτεινον. ωσπερ γαρ κυνεην κρυπτει την κεφαλην, ουτω και αυτη η δυναμις των αφανων εστι. That is, "Mundane natures are triple: for ſome are celeſtial, others terreſtrial, and others ſituated between theſe; viz. natures fiery, aerial, aquatic. And of theſe, Jupiter poſſeſſes ſuch as are celeſtial, Pluto ſuch as are terreſtrial, and Neptune the natures between theſe. Hence Jupiter holds a ſceptre, which ſignifies his judicial power*. *But Neptune a trident, becauſe he is the inſpective guardian of this triple nature, which has a middle ſituation.* And Pluto wears a helmet, on account of the darkneſs over which he preſides. For, as a helmet conceals the head, ſo Pluto is the power that preſides over inviſible natures."

And here, a reader unſkilled in the ancient theology will doubtleſs object, that according to this doctrine, Neptune muſt either be the ſame with Juno, ſince he is the divinity of air, or there muſt be two divinities of the air. To this I anſwer, that Neptune, conſidered as one divinity who preſides over all the middle elements, comprehends in his eſſence Juno, according to her ſublunary diſtribution; ſo that both Neptune and Juno govern the air, but the former more univerſally, and the latter more particularly; the former ruling at the ſame time over other

* It likewiſe ſignifies, as we have before obſerved from Proclus, his *commanding* or *ruling* characteriſtic.

natures,

natures, but the latter preſiding over air alone. And the ſame reaſoning muſt be extended to Neptune and Vulcan, with reſpect to the element of fire.

I only add, that the helmet of Pluto, which Olympiodorus ſpeaks of in the above citation, is mentioned by Homer in the Iliad, lib. v. ver. 845.

——————αὐλαρ Ἀθηνη,
Δυν' Ἀϊδος κυνεην, μη μιν ἰδοι ὀβριμος Ἀρης.

i. e.

"Minerva then, leſt powerful Mars ſhould view
Her viſage, cover'd it with Pluto's helm."

And from hence we may infer the great antiquity of helmets that entirely covered the face.

Page 223. *Depriving Homer of ſight.*] Thoſe who have happily penetrated the profound wiſdom of the ancients, will be eaſily convinced that the report concerning the blindneſs of Homer is merely fabulous, containing ſome recondite information, like other divine fables of antiquity. For he is ſaid to have loſt his ſight through his accuſation of Helen. But it would be ridiculous in the extreme, if we take all that is related of Helen in the literal ſenſe, to ſuppoſe that Homer ſhould have been deprived of his ſight for reviling ſuch an infamous woman. Indeed, not only the blindneſs of Homer is fabulous, but both the Iliad and Odyſſey are to be conſidered as divine fables. I do not mean to aſſert by this, that there never was ſuch a war as the Trojan, or ſuch a perſon as Ulyſſes: but it is my opinion, that Homer, by combining fiction with certain hiſtorical facts, has delivered to us ſome very concealed and valuable information in theſe two admirable poems.

That the rape of Helen indeed is fabulous, was the opinion of no leſs a perſon than Plato, as is evident from the following paſſage from his Phædrus: "There is an ancient purification for thoſe who offend in matters reſpecting mythology, which Homer

mer did not perceive, but which was known to Steſichorus. For being deprived of his eyes through his accuſation of Helen, he was not, like Homer, ignorant of the cauſe of his blindneſs, but knew it, as being a muſician. So that he immediately compoſed the following lines:

> Falſe was my tale; thou ne'er acroſs the main
> In beauteous ſhips didſt fly, Troy's lofty tow'rs to gain.

And thus having compoſed a poem directly contrary to what he had before publiſhed, and which is called a recantation, he immediately recovered his loſt ſight*." That the blindneſs too of Homer, and his account of the Trojan war, are pregnant with myſtic meaning, is thus beautifully ſhewn by Proclus on Plato's Republic, p. 393: "Steſichorus, who conſidered the whole fable of Helen as a true narration, who approved the conſequent tranſactions, and eſtabliſhed his poetry accordingly, with great propriety ſuffered the puniſhment of his folly, that is, ignorance: but at length, through the aſſiſtance of muſic, he is ſaid to have acknowledged his error; and thus, through underſtanding the myſteries concerning Helen and the Trojan war, to have recovered his ſight. But Homer is ſaid to have been blind, not on account of his ignorance of theſe myſteries, as Steſichorus, but through a more perfect habit of the ſoul; viz. by ſeparating himſelf from ſenſible beauty, eſtabliſhing his intelligence above all apparent harmony, and extending the intellect of his ſoul to unapparent and true harmony. Hence, he is ſaid to have been blind, becauſe that intellectual beauty to which he raiſed him-

* εχι δε τοις αμαξιανουσι περι μυθολογιαν καθαρμος αρχαιος, οτ Ομηρος μεν ουκ ησθιτο, Στησιχωρος δε. των γαρ ομματων στερηθεις δια την Ελενης καθηγοριαν, ουκ ηγνοησεν, ωσπερ Ομηρος, αλλ' ως μουσικος ων, εγνω την αιτιαν· και φησει ευθυς, Ουκ εστ' ετυμος ο λογος ουτος· ουδ' εβας εν νηυσιν ευσελμοις, ουδ' ικες Περγαμα Τρωιαδος. ποιησας δη πασαν την καλουμενην παλινωδιαν, παραχρημα ανεβλεψεν. P. 217. Edit. Vien.

ſelf, cannot be uſurped by corporeal eyes. On this account, too, fables bordering on tragedy repreſent Homer as deprived of ſight, on account of his accuſation of Helen. But fables, in my opinion, intend to ſignify by Helen all the beauty ſubſiſting about generation, for which there is a perpetual battle of ſouls, till the more intellectual, having vanquiſhed the more irrational forms of life, return to that place from which they originally came. But, according to ſome, the period of their circulation about ſenſible forms conſiſts of ten thouſand years, ſince a thouſand years produce one ambit as of one year. For nine years therefore, i. e. for nine thouſand years, ſouls revolve about generation; but in the tenth having vanquiſhed all the barbaric tumult, they are ſaid to have returned to their paternal habitations." I only add farther, that the Engliſh reader who is deſirous of underſtanding the myſtic meaning of the Odyſſey, may perhaps find his expectations not entirely diſappointed by peruſing the notes to my tranſlation of Porphyry on Homer's Cave of the Nymphs, in vol. ii. of Proclus on Euclid.

Page 236. *Sacrifices and incantations.*] He, whoſe intellectual eye is ſtrong enough to perceive that *all things ſympathize with all*, will be convinced that the *magic*, cultivated by the ancient philoſophers, is founded on a theory no leſs ſublime than rational and true. Such a one will conſider, as Plotinus obſerves, the nature of ſoul, as every where eaſy to be attracted, when a proper ſubject is at hand, which is eaſily paſſive to its influence. And, that every thing adapted to imitation is readily paſſive; and is like a mirror able to ſeize a certain form, and reflect it to the view.

Page 240. *Ceres indeed is called Chthonia.*] *Chthonia* means terreſtrial; and Ceres was, we may ſuppoſe, thus denominated from her profound union with Veſta, the proper divinity of the earth. "For ſome (ſays Proclus on Euclid) call both the Earth and Ceres, Veſta, and they ſay that Rhea totally participates her nature, and that all generative cauſes are contained in her eſſence."

Page

Page 245. *The hydra.*] As we have already ſhewn that the labours of Hercules are allegorical, the account given of his cutting off the hydra's heads, which formed one of his labours, muſt conſequently be a fabulous narration. By the hydra, therefore, the ancients ſeem to have occultly ſignified the various and material form of the ſoul, which branches out into—1. Communication with the lives and opinions of the multitude. 2. Multiform deſires, which divide the ſoul about body, and cauſe it to energize about externals; at one time connecting it with irrational pleaſures, and at another time with actions indefinite and oppoſing each other. 3. The ſenſes, which are educated as it were with the rational ſoul, and deceive its cogitative power; for theſe are multiform, and perceive nothing accurate or true. 4. Phantaſies, on account of their figured and diviſible nature, and immenſe variety, which do not ſuffer us to betake ourſelves to an indiviſible and immaterial eſſence, but draw down thoſe who are haſtening to the apprehenſion of ſuch a nature, to a paſſive intelligence. 5. Opinions, becauſe theſe are various and infinite, tend to externals, and are mingled with phantaſy and ſenſe. The hydra's heads therefore are images of all theſe, which Hercules, who is an intellectual hero, is with great propriety ſaid to have deſtroyed.

Page 246. *To lead back Semele.*] Bacchus is the monad, or proximately exempt producing cauſe of the Titans, or ultimate artificers of things; and Semele, as we have ſhewn from Olympiodorus, in a former note, is ſublunary fire, i. e. the divinity of ſublunary fire. As Semele, therefore, according to her ultimate progreſſions, is ſuſpended from Bacchus, ſhe may very properly be ſaid to have been led back from Hades, or the profundities of a material nature, by Bacchus; becauſe every divine monad elevates to itſelf the ſeries of which it is the head. I only add, that it is by no means improbable that this Alcyonian lake may be one of thoſe paſſages through which the defluxions of the elements are tranſmitted to the inmoſt receſſes of the earth, ſo as to form

thoſe

thoſe ſubterranean rivers which are ſo much celebrated by ancient theologiſts. So that nothing more is meant by this fable, than that this divine power Semele, while ſhe illuminates the profundities of the earth with as great a portion of divine light as they are capable of receiving, of a light which is enſhrined as it were in the groſſeſt fire, is at the ſame time elevated by Bacchus to an energy perfectly immaterial, impaſſive and pure. For divine illumination, while it proceeds into the dark and rebounding receptacle of matter, is neither obſcured by its darkneſs, defiled by its impurity, nor debilitated by its privation of reality.

Page 253. *Homer.*] Theſe verſes, the tranſlator of which is Mr. Pope, are to be found in the Odyſſey, lib. xix. ver. 178.

Page 257. *The oracle.*] This oracle is given at length by Herodotus, lib. i. p. 17.

Page 260. *Who has dared to corrupt the oracle of the god.*] There cannot be the leaſt doubt but that the greater part of men of the preſent day believe the ancient oracles to have been nothing more than the tricks of deſigning prieſts; and the remaining part, which is certainly a very ſmall one, will, as it appears to me, aſcribe them to the influence of evil ſpirits. However, as it is a well known fact that moſt of the oracles ceaſed when the Chriſtian religion made its appearance, it is impoſſible that they ſhould have been nothing more than fraudulent tricks; for, if this had been the caſe, there was a much greater neceſſity than ever for the exerciſe of ſuch tricks, when a new religion ſtarted up, diametrically oppoſite to the old one; nor can any reaſon be aſſigned why on this hypotheſis the oracles ſhould ceaſe. On the other hand, to ſay that they were produced by the influence of evil ſpirits, is juſt as abſurd as to aſſert that evil is naturally the ſource of good; for the tendency of the oracles was evidently directed to the good both of individuals and cities, which in numberleſs inſtances they were the means of procuring. It may therefore be ſafely concluded that they were produced by divine influence; and that they ceaſed when the Chriſtian religion appeared, becauſe the

parts

parts of the earth in which the oracles were given then became too impure to receive the prophetic inſpiration. For, as we have obſerved in a former note, there muſt be a concurrence of proper *inſtruments*, *times*, and *places*, in order to receive divine influence in a proper manner; ſo that when all or any of theſe are wanting, this influence will either be not at all received, or will be received mingled with the deluſions of error. But let the reader who deſires popular conviction of this important fact, that there was no colluſion *in general* in the ancient oracles, peruſe the firſt book of *Cicero De Divinatione*; and unleſs his intellectual eye is dreadfully blinded by the darkneſs of *perfect* atheiſm, which has now ſpread itſelf among all ranks of men, he muſt be at leaſt convinced that they were not produced by the knavery of prieſts. That the prieſts indeed were ſometimes corrupted, the paſſage before us of Pauſanias, and many other inſtances which might be adduced, ſufficiently prove; but this does not in the leaſt invalidate the exiſtence of divine influence, or the reality of oracular prediction; becauſe the beſt things always have been and always will be perverted, through the weakneſs and viciouſneſs of the bulk of mankind.

Page 281. *The Archon Eponymus.*] Sylburgius obſerves here, that governors of this kind were called *Archons*, becauſe they annually poſſeſſed the ſupreme authority: but that they were called *Eponymi*, becauſe the years in the faſti and annals were inſcribed after their names; juſt as among the Romans the years were not only numbered from the time in which their city was built, but were rendered remarkable by the names of their conſuls.

Page 290. *Jupiter Euanemus.*] That is, Jupiter *the cauſe of proſperous winds.*

Page 291. *Neptune Hippocurius.*] Pindar, in his Iſthmian and Nemæan odes, ſhews that a feſtival was celebrated by the Thebans in honour of Neptune Hippocurius.

Page 291. *Britomartis.*] This word is a compound of the

Cretan words ϐρ.ϊυς *sweet*, and μαρτις *a virgin*: and according to Bochart, the latter of these words is derived from the Arabic *marath*.

Page 294. *Enyalian Mars.*] That is, *Mars the son of Bellona.*

Page 294. *Enodian Hecate.*] Diana, according to Festus, was called *Enodia*, because she presides over ways. We have before observed that there is a wonderful union between Hecate and Diana; and hence Proclus in his *common hymn*, which has been already cited in these notes, calls Hecate *Prothyræa*, which, as we are informed by Diodorus, is one of the appellations of Diana.

Page 300. *Orthia Diana.*] Hesychius informs us that Diana came to be thus denominated from a place in Arcadia where she had a temple.

Page 301. *Sprinkled with human blood.*] If we attend to the pre-existence of human souls, and consider the crimes which they may have committed in former periods of existence on the earth, and at the same time consider that nothing escapes the penetrating eye of providence, and that all its administrations are conconsummately just, the apparent cruelty in the injunction of this oracle vanishes. For of what consequence is it whether a man who deserves to die is slain before an altar, or put to death in a common way? And we may be sure that no man is punished either with death or the loss of his possessions, or is in short oppressed with any calamity, unjustly. For though the conduct of such a one in that period of his existence in which he suffers may deserve a milder destiny, yet it may be safely concluded that in some past period of existence, it has been such as to demand the punishment which he endures. It must however be observed, that this doctrine does not hold good with respect to truly worthy men, by which I mean those heroic souls of whom I have given an account in a former note; for the calamities which befall others, when they happen to these, are sent by divinity as purifications

sations neceſſary to the perfection of their virtue. The number of theſe however is but ſmall, and conſequently the exceptions to this obſervation are but few.

Page 305. *Are believed to be brothers.*] *Sleep* and *Death* were with great propriety ſaid by the ancients to be twins, from the intimate alliance between *Senſe* and *Phantaſy*, from which we are liberated by theſe divinities. For as *Sleep* frees us from the *ſenſes*, ſo *Death* from the *phantaſy*. But *Sleep*, conſidered as a god, is that power through which the divinities are enabled to energize in a manner ſeparate from all inferior concerns, at the ſame time that their providential care is extended to every part of the univerſe: and this latter energy was denominated by ancient theologiſts *vigilance*. I only add, that the paſſage of Homer alluded to by Pauſanias is Iliad 16. v. 672, and that Sleep and Death are called brothers both by Orpheus and Heſiod.

Page 308. *Chiron.*] Chiron, according to fables, was the ſon of Saturn by the nymph Philyra the daughter of Ocean. And it is ſaid that Saturn, in order to elude Rhea, changed himſelf into a horſe when he was connected with Philyra. Hence the upper parts of Chiron, as far as to his navel, were thoſe of a man, and his lower parts were thoſe of a horſe. Chiron, therefore, is the image of a man, who lived in the confines of the kingdom of Jupiter and Saturn, or, in other words, who lived a life partly conſiſting of the political and partly of the intellectual virtues, but yet ſo that he poſſeſſed the former in greater perfection than the latter. For the fable, by aſſerting that his upper parts were human, ſignifies his living according to the *politic virtues*, of which Jupiter is the exemplar; ſince Jupiter is peculiarly πατηρ ανδρων τε θεων τε, the *father* of *gods* and *men*. As Jupiter therefore is *eminently* a political god, man muſt partake in an *eminent* degree of a political life. But the lower parts of Chiron evidently partake of the nature of Saturn: and Saturn is the ſource of an *intellectual life*, which he cauſes to receive the moſt extreme diviſion. But what are we to underſtand by Saturn changing himſelf into

a horſe? I anſwer, that a certain dæmoniacal power of the order of Saturn is ſignified by this mutation. For ancient theologiſts called the proceſſions of any divinity to the laſt of things, according to different orders and degrees, *mutations*. So that the fable, by aſſerting that Chiron was the ſon of Saturn by one of the nymphs of the ocean, ſignifies that a Saturnian dæmon and a nymph co-operated with the parents of Chiron, by a certain natural ſympathy, in begetting him.

Page 308. *The judgment of Paris.*] The fable here alluded to is thus beautifully explained by the philoſopher Salluſt, in his treatiſe De Diis et Mundo, cap. 4. "It is ſaid that Diſcord, at a banquet of the gods, threw a golden apple, and that a diſpute about it ariſing among the goddeſſes, they were ſent by Jupiter to take the judgment of Paris, who, charmed with the beauty of Venus, gave her the apple in preference to the reſt. In this fable, the banquet denotes the ſupermundane powers of the gods; and on this account they ſubſiſt in conjunction with each other: but the golden apple denotes the world, which, on account of its compoſition from contrary natures, is not improperly ſaid to be thrown by Diſcord, or Strife. But again, ſince different gifts are imparted to the world by different gods, they appear to conteſt with each other for the apple. And a ſoul living according to ſenſe (for this is Paris), not perceiving other powers in the univerſe, aſſerts that the contended apple ſubſiſts alone through the beauty of Venus."

Page 308. *Dragging the three-mouthed dog from Hades.*] By a dog the ancients ſignified the *diſcriminating* and at the ſame time *reproving* power of the ſoul. For of this power the *ſagacity* and *barking* of a dog are images. And as its energies are triple, (for it detects and reproves the fallacies of the *ſenſes*, *imagination*, and *opinion*), theſe are repreſented by the three heads of Cerberus. The great Hercules therefore drew this dog from Hades up to the regions of day; *viz.* he liberated this power of his ſoul from its reſidence in the dark profundities of a material

nature, and raiſed it to the light of truth. This account of Cerberus appears to me to be more accurate than that which I have given in my Diſſertation on the Eleuſinian and Bacchic Myſteries.

Page 309. *Pirithous and Theſeus forcibly taking away Helen.*] "Theſeus and Pirithous," ſays Proclus, in Plat. Polit. p. 381, "are fabled to have raviſhed Helen, and deſcended to the infernal regions; i. e. were lovers both of intelligible and viſible beauty. Afterwards one of theſe (Theſeus), on account of his magnanimity, was liberated by Hercules from Hades; but the other (Pirithous) remained there, becauſe he could not ſuſtain the arduous altitude of divine contemplation."

Page 311. *Bacchus, whom in my opinion they very properly denominate Pſila.*] Bacchus may with great propriety be called *Pſila*, or *wings*; for he is an *intellectual* deity, and *intellect* is of an *elevating* nature.

Page 312. *Homer.*] Iliad. lib. xxiv. ver. 41.

Page 320. *Homer.*] Iliad. lib. xviii. ver. 140.

Page 336. *Homer.*] Iliad. lib. ix. ver. 292; and in the ſame verſe Enope is mentioned.

Page 336. *The ſmall Iliad.*] Herodotus, in his Life of Homer, ſays that this poem was compoſed by Homer, while he reſided with Theſtorides, and that afterwards the pedagogue publiſhed it as his own.

Page 339. *In his catalogue.*] Iliad. lib. ii. The verſes which follow are from the Odyſſey, lib. xxi. ver. 15, and lib. iii. ver. 489.

Page 341. *The Great Eoeæ.*] This poem, which is likewiſe called *The Catalogue of Women*, is aſcribed to Heſiod; and Fabricius conjectures that the *Shield of Hercules* is a part of it.

Page 390. *But ſome god who had ſo often preſerved Ariſtomenes, &c.*] The readers of that moſt ingenious and entertaining work called the *Arabian Nights Entertainments* will doubtleſs be agreeably ſurpriſed to find, if they have not diſcovered it before, that

this intereſting account of the preſervation of Ariſtomenes in the deep chaſm, has been taken from Pauſanias with ſome alteration by the author of thoſe tales, and forms one of the moſt curious parts of the hiſtory of *Sindbad the ſailor*. As the Arabians, a little after the year of Chriſt 820, under the auſpices of the Caliph Almaimon, who was the great patron of literature, and indeed by his orders, tranſlated the beſt works of the Grecian philoſophers and mathematicians into Arabic, perhaps Pauſanias was tranſlated by them at the ſame time. I only add, that Ariſtomenes appears to have been one of thoſe *heroes* of whom we have given an account in a former note.

Page 413. *The anger of the Dioſcuri.*] We muſt not ſuppoſe that a divine nature is capable of anger, or can be appeaſed by gifts: for in this caſe it would be ſubject to paſſion, and influenced by delight. But by ſuch expreſſions as theſe nothing more is implied than the effects which vice and virtue produce in our ſouls. For guilt, as Salluſt * well obſerves, prevents us from receiving the illuminations of the gods, and ſubjects us to the power of avenging dæmons; and prayers and ſacrifices become the remedies of our vices, and cauſe us to partake of the goodneſs of the gods. So that it is the ſame thing, ſays he, to aſſert that divinity is turned from the evil, as to ſay that the ſun is concealed from thoſe who are deprived of ſight.

Page 416. *Sacadas and Pronomus.*] For particulars reſpecting Sacadas, conſult the Corinthiacs and Eliacs of Pauſanias. Suidas informs us that Pronomus was a piper remarkable for his great beard. He is alſo mentioned by Ariſtophanes in Eccleſiazuſis, and by Athenæus, lib. xiv. cap. 7.

Page 419. *In the Iliad.*] The particulars reſpecting Patroclus are in Iliad 16. ver. 130; reſpecting the ſpies, in Iliad 10. ver. 222; and reſpecting the ſpy ſent to Troy, in Iliad 10. ver. 244. The paſſage reſpecting thoſe that were left to guard

* De Diis et Mundo.

the

the walls of Troy is in Iliad 8. ver. 518, &c. And the laſt paſſage is in Iliad 14. ver. 378, &c.

Page 424. *Fortune.*] *Fortune* is that divine power which diſpoſes things differing from each other, and happening contrary to expectation, to beneficent purpoſes. Or it may be defined that deific diſtribution which cauſes every thing to fill up the lot aſſigned to it by the condition of its being. This divinity too congregates all ſublunary cauſes, and enables them to confer on ſublunary effects that particular good which their nature and merits eminently deſerve. But the following extraordinary paſſage from Simplicius on Ariſtotle's Phyſics, lib. ii. p. 81, concerning *Fortune*, will I doubt not be acceptable to readers of every deſcription.—η της τυχης επικρατεια την υποσελήνην μαλιστα του παντος μοιραν διακοσμει, ωσπερ η κὴ η του ενδεχομενου φυσις, η ατακτον ουσαν καθ' ἑαυτην, η τυχη μετα των αλλων αρχηγικων αιτιων κατευθυνει, κὴ τατ̃ει, κὴ κυβερνα. διο κὴ πηδαλιον αυτη δίδουσι κρατειν, ως κυβερνωσῃ τα ἐν τῳ ποντῳ της γενεσεως πλοντα. κὴ το πηδαλιον επι σφαιρας ἱδρυουσιν ως τι ασταθον της γενεσεως κατευθυνουσης. κερας δε αμαλθειας ἐν τῃ ετερᾳ των χειρων καρπων πληρες, ως του τυχειν παντων θειων καρπων αιτια. δια τουτο δε, κὴ πολεων κὴ οικων, κὴ ενος εκαστου τιμωμεν τυχας, οτι ροπὴν διαφαντες της θειας ενωσεως, κινδυνευομεν διαμαρτειν της επιβαλλουσης μεθεξεως. κὴ διομεθα προς το τυχειν της τε θεου τυχης, κὴ των ἐν τοις κρειττοσι γενεσιν την αυτην ἐχουσων ἰδιοτητα. κὴ ἐστι μεν πασα τυχη αγαθη. κὴ γαρ η πασα τευξις αγαθου τινος ἐστιν, ουδε υπεστη τι κακον υπο του θεου. των δε αγαθων, τα μεν ἐστι προηγουμενα, τα δε κολαστικα, η τιμωρα, απερ και κακα λεγειν εθισμεθα. και δια τουτο και τυχην, την μεν αγαθην ονομαζομεν, η τις του τυχειν των προηγουμενων αγαθων αιτια ἐστι, την δε κακην, η τις κολασεως η τιμωριας ημας παρασκευαζει τυχειν.—— That is, "The power of Fortune particularly diſpoſes in an orderly manner the ſublunary part of the univerſe, in which the nature of that which is contingent is contained, and which being eſſentially diſordered, Fortune, in conjunction with other primary cauſes, directs, places in order, and governs. Hence ſhe is repreſented guiding a rudder, becauſe ſhe governs things ſailing

on the ſea of generation. Her rudder too is fixed on a globe, becauſe ſhe directs that which is unſtable in generation. In her other hand ſhe holds the horn of Amalthea, which is full of fruits, becauſe ſhe is the cauſe of obtaining all divine fruits. And on this account we venerate the fortunes of cities and houſes, and of each individual; becauſe, being very remote from divine union, we are in danger of being deprived of its participation, and require in order to obtain it the aſſiſtance of the goddeſs Fortune, and of thoſe natures* ſuperior to the human who poſſeſs the characteriſtic of this divinity. *Indeed every fortune is good; for every attainment reſpects ſomething good, nor does any thing evil ſubſiſt from divinity. But of things good ſome are precedaneous, and others are of a puniſhing or revenging characteriſtic, which we are accuſtomed to call evils. Hence we ſpeak of two Fortunes, one of which we denominate* GOOD, *and which is the cauſe of our obtaining preceaaneous goods, and the other* EVIL, *which prepares us to receive puniſhment or revenge.*"

From this beautiful paſſage it is eaſy to ſee why *Fortune* in the Orphic hymns is called *Diana;* for each of theſe divinities governs the ſublunary world. At the ſame time it is a ſingular circumſtance, that among the images of Fortune in Montfaucon there is but one with a rudder on a globe.

Page 425. *Iliad.*] Minerva, and *Enyo*, or *Bellona*, are mentioned together, Iliad 5. v. 333. Nuptials are ſaid to be taken care of by Venus. Iliad 5. ver. 429.

Page 430. *Particularly by Plato, the ſon of Ariſton.*] That Plato firmly believed in the immortality of the ſoul, is evident from his Phædrus, the tenth book of his Republic, and his ſeventh epiſtle, which contains the following remarkable paſſage: πιθισθαι δε ουτως αει χρη τοις παλαιοις τε και ιεροις λογοις ἡ δη μηνυουσιν ημιν αθανατον ψυχην ειναι, δικας τε ισχειν, και τινειν τας μεγιστας τιμωριας ὁταν τις απαλλαχθη του σωματος. i. e. "It is proper indeed always to believe in *ancient and ſacred diſcourſes*, which announce to us

* i. e. Angels, dæmons, and heroes.

that

that the ſoul is immortal, and that it has judges of its conduct, and ſuffers the greateſt puniſhments, when it is liberated from the body."

Page 432. *That affirm Jupiter was brought up among them.*] It appears to me, that the reaſon why ſo many nations have aſſerted that Jupiter was born and educated among them, originated from hence: Heroic ſouls, ſuch as we have already deſcribed, who, in conſequence of knowing that they deſcended from Jupiter, and living a life conformable to the characteriſtic of that divinity, were called the ſons of Jupiter, and aſſumed the name of their parent, may be ſuppoſed to have been born in different periods in every part of the earth; and this has given occaſion to ſo many nations to boaſt that Jupiter was born among them, each nation confounding a hero who called himſelf Jupiter, for the reaſon above aſſigned, with the divinity of that name. I add, that *Crete* was fabulouſly called the birth-place of Jupiter by the ancient theologiſts: I ſay, fabulouſly, for Proclus informs us, that theſe theologiſts meant by *Crete* τὸν νοητὸν *an intelligible nature*, in which Jupiter may with great propriety and beauty be ſaid to have been born and nurſed.

Page 434. *Thamyris.*] The verſes of Homer reſpecting Thamyris, alluded to by Pauſanias, are in the ſecond book of the Iliad, v. 105, &c. and are thus tranſlated by Mr. Pope:

> And Dorion, fam'd for Thamyris' diſgrace,
> Superior once of all the tuneful race,
> Till, vain of mortals' empty praiſe, he ſtrove
> To match the ſeed of cloud-compelling Jove!
> Too daring bard! whoſe unſucceſsful pride
> Th' immortal Muſes in their art defy'd.
> Th' avenging Muſes of the light of day
> Depriv'd his eyes, and ſnatch'd his voice away;
> No more his heavenly voice was heard to ſing,
> His hand no more awak'd the ſilver ſtring.

But we muſt not ſuppoſe that Homer means Thamyris was corporeall

really blind; for the intention of the poet in this narration, which is doubtleſs fabulous, was to ſignify that Thamyris, through deſpiſing a deific energy, became mentally blind, and thus no longer experienced that inſpiring influence of the Muſes, which prior to this uſed to illuminate the greateſt eye of his ſoul with divine light. The blindneſs of Homer, which was far different from that of Thamyris, we have explained in a former note.

Page 442. *Herodotus.*] Lib. iv.

Page 442. *Homer.*] Iliad 11. ver. 681.

Page 443. *Iphidamas.*] Iliad 11. ver. 244.

NOTES

NOTES

ON THE

SECOND VOLUME.

Page 2. *ENDYMION.*] The following remarkable paſſage, from the MS. Commentary of Olympiodorus on the Phædo, contains an explanation of the fable of Endymion. Ελεγετο δε ουτος (Ενδυμιων) αει καθευδειν, διοτι αστρονομων επ' ερημιας διετριβε· διο και φιλος τη σεληνη. ὁ και περι Πτολεμαιου φασιν. ουτος γαρ επι τεσσαρακοντα ετη εν τοις λεγομενοις πτερως του Κανωβου ωκει αστρονομιας σχολαζων. διο και αναγραψαι τας στηλας εκει των ευρημενων αυτω αστρονομικων δογματων. That is, "He (Endymion) is ſaid to have ſlept perpetually, becauſe he applied himſelf in ſolitude to the ſtudy of aſtronomy. Hence, too, he is ſaid to have been beloved by the Moon. And the ſame things are reported of Ptolemy, who gave himſelf wholly to the ſtudy of aſtronomy for forty years, in that place which is called the *Pteroi* of Canobus. On which account he inſcribed on the pillars contained in that place, the aſtronomical dogmata which he invented." I only add, that the Grecian architects by the word πτερα, or *wings*, ſignified the roofs of their temples, as may be ſeen from the Greek Scholiaſt on this verſe of Ariſtophanes;

τας γαρ υμων οικιας επτερωμεν προς αιετον.

i. e.

"We ſhall cover your houſes towards the north."

For the Scholiaſt obſerves, that Ariſtophanes uſes theſe words on account of the roofs of temples, which were like the wings of a flying

a flying eagle. See likewiſe Suidas, and Euſtathius on the laſt book of the Iliad. Ptolemy therefore, from conſuming moſt probably a great part of every day and night on the roof of the temple of Canobus, in the open air, for the ſpace of forty years, is very properly compared by Olympiodorus to Endymion.

Page 10. *They ought to conſult the Delphic Apollo, about the means of being freed from the evils, &c.*] The prodigious advantages which mankind derived from prophecy, are beautifully ſhewn by Plato in the following paſſage from his Phædrus: "Indeed, in the greateſt diſeaſes and labours, to which certain perſons are ſometimes ſubject, through the indignation of the gods, in conſequence of guilt; fury, when it takes place, predicting what they ſtand in need of, diſcovers a liberation of ſuch evils, by flying to prayer and the worſhip of the gods. Hence, obtaining by this means purifications, and the advantages of initiation, it renders ſuch a one free from diſaſters, both for the preſent and future time, by diſcovering to him a ſolution of his preſent evil, through the means of one who is properly furious and divinely inſpired.

Page 15. *Homer.*] Iliad 11. v. 721.

Page 19. *The golden race.*] The different ages of mankind which are celebrated by Heſiod in his *Works and Days*, ſignify the different lives which the individuals of the human ſpecies paſs through; and, as Proclus on Heſiod beautifully obſerves, they may be comprehended in this triad, the *golden*, the *ſilver*, and the *brazen* age. But by the *golden* age an intellectual life is implied. For ſuch a life is pure, impaſſive, and free from ſorrow; and of this impaſſivity and purity gold is an image, through its never being ſubject to ruſt or putrefaction. Such a life too is very properly ſaid to be under Saturn, becauſe Saturn, as we have before ſhewn, is an *intellectual* god. By the *ſilver* age a ruſtic and natural life is implied, in which the attention of the rational ſoul is entirely directed to the care of the body, but without proceeding to the extremity of vice. And

by

by the *brazen* age, a dire, tyrannic, and cruel life is implied, which is entirely paſſive, and proceeds to the very extremity of vice. The order of theſe metals, as Proclus obſerves, harmonizes with that of theſe lives. "For (ſays he) *gold* is *ſolar-form*, becauſe the ſun is ſolely immaterial light. But *ſilver* is *lunar-form*, becauſe the moon partakes of ſhadow, juſt as ſilver does of ruſt. And *braſs* is earthly, ſo far as, not having a nature ſimilar to a lucid body, it is replete with abundance of corruption."

Page 19. *Curetes.*] The Curetes are gods of an unpolluted guardian characteriſtic, and firſt ſubſiſt in that order of gods which is called by the Chaldean theologiſts νοερος, *intellectual*. The *Corybantes*, who form the guardian triad of *ſupermundane* gods, are analogous to theſe.

Page 20. *In conſequence of having dethroned Saturn.*] By Jupiter dethroning Saturn, nothing more is meant, than that Jupiter is the medium, through which the prolific powers and intellectual illuminations of Saturn proceed, and are participated by the ſenſible world.

Page 29. *The Stymphalian birds, and the Nemean lion.*] By the Stymphalian birds which were driven away by Hercules, and were ſo large that they obſtructed the light of the ſun, the objects of phantaſy are ſignified, which prevent the light of truth from ſhining in the ſoul: and the Nemean lion ſignifies anger.

Page 31. *Homer in the Iliad.*] The verſes alluded to by Pauſanias are theſe:

> Heaven's gates ſpontaneous open to the pow'rs,
> Heaven's ſounding gates kept by the winged hours.
>
> Iliad 8. v. 393.

Page 32. *That the goddeſs is drawn by a mule.*] The moon may with great propriety be repreſented drawn by a mule, becauſe, as Proclus on Heſiod, p. 174, obſerves, ſhe reſembles the mixed nature of this animal; "becoming dark through her participation of earth, and deriving her proper light from the ſun."

γης μεν εχουσα το σταθιζεσθαι, ηλιου δε το οικειον επιλαχειν φως. ταυτη μεν ουν οικειοτατη προς αυτην η ημισεος.

Page 40. *Homer.*] Iliad. lib. xiii. v. 389. in Mr. Pope's tranſlation, lin. 493. and Iliad. xvi. v. 482. in Pope's Homer, v. 592. The Greek Scholiaſt on theſe verſes informs us that Hercules was crowned with the leaves of the poplar tree, for having vanquiſhed Cerberus.

Page 41. *Pindar.*] In his firſt Olympic ode. The Scholiaſt on this paſſage obſerves, that Diana was loved by Alpheus, and that, on this account, one altar was raiſed to both in Olympia. Hence Diana was called *Alpheioa.*

Page 42. *Opportunity.*] Proclus, in MS. Comment. in Alcibiadem, informs us, that the Pythagoreans called the firſt cauſe, from which all things are ſupplied with good, *Opportunity*; becauſe it is to this that all things owe the perfection of their nature.

Page 43. *It is evident, therefore, that this is an appellation of Jupiter.*] It appears to me however, that by *the leader of the Parcæ* we muſt underſtand Venus. For in the Orphic hymn to that goddeſs, it is expreſsly ſaid of her, that "*ſhe rules over the Parcæ:*

Και κραδιης τριτσων μοιρων.

Page 53. *Of Muſes gracefully around him ſtand.*] The following account of the Muſes is from the Scholia of Proclus on the Cratylus: "The whole world is bound in indiſſoluble bonds from Apollo and the Muſes, and is both one and all-perfect, through the communications of theſe divinities; poſſeſſing the former through the Apolloniacal monad*, but its all-perfect ſubſiſtence through the number of the Muſes. For the number nine, which is generated from the firſt perfect number, (that is, three) is, through

* By a *monad* in divine natures, is meant that which contains *diſtinct*, but at the ſame time *profoundly-united* multitude, and which produces a multitude exquiſitely allied to itſelf.

ſimilitude and ſameneſs, accommodated to the multiform cauſes of the mundane order and harmony; all theſe cauſes at the ſame time being collected into one ſummit for the purpoſe of producing one conſummate perfection; for the Muſes generate the variety of reaſons with which the world is replete; but Apollo comprehends in union all the multitude of theſe. And the Muſes give ſubſiſtence to the harmony of ſoul; but Apollo is the leader of intellectual and indiviſible harmony. The Muſes diſtribute the phænomena according to harmonical reaſons: but Apollo comprehends unapparent and ſeparate harmony. And though both give ſubſiſtence to the ſame things, yet the Muſes effect this according to number, but Apollo according to union. And the Muſes indeed diſtribute the unity of Apollo: but Apollo unites and contains harmonic multitude; for the multitude of the Muſes proceeds from the eſſence of *Muſagetes*, which is both ſeparate, and ſubſiſts according to the nature of *the one*."

Page 57. *And they are employed agreeable to Homer's deſcription of them.*] The paſſage alluded to by Pauſanias is in the tenth book of the Odyſſey, v. 348, &c. and is thus tranſlated by Mr. Pope:

> Miniſtrant to their queen with buſy care,
> Four faithful handmaids the ſoft rites prepare;
> Nymphs ſprung from fountains, or from ſhady woods,
> Or the fair offspring of the ſacred floods.
> One o'er the couches painted carpets threw,
> Whoſe purple luſtre glow'd againſt the view:
> White linen lay beneath. Another plac'd
> The ſilver ſtands with golden flaſkets grac'd:
> With dulcet bev'rage this the beaker crown'd;
> Fair in the midſt, with gilded cups around:
> That in the tripod o'er the kindled pile
> The water pours; the bubbling waters boil;
> An ample vaſe receives the ſmoking wave;
> And in the bath prepar'd my limbs I lave.

But

But in order to underſtand who the Homeric Circe is, it is neceſſary to obſerve, that the ancient theologiſts, when they repreſent divine natures, as employed in the exerciſe of certain arts, means to inſinuate by ſuch arts *producing*, *prolific*, *intellectual*, and *perfective* powers, which proceed from the gods into the univerſe; all the parts of which are nothing more than illuminations of theſe powers. This being premiſed, "Circe (ſays Proclus in his Scholia on the Cratylus) is that divine power which weaves all the life contained in the four elements, and at the ſame time by her ſong harmonizes the whole ſublunary world. But the ſhuttle with which ſhe weaves, is repreſented by theologiſts as golden, becauſe her eſſence is intellectual, pure, immaterial, and unmingled with generation; all which is ſignified by the ſhuttle being *golden*. And her employment conſiſts in *ſeparating** things ſtable from ſuch as are in motion, according to divine diverſity." I only add, that Homer with great propriety repreſents Circe, who preſides over the ſublunary world, or the realms of generation, as waited on by Nymphs ſprung from fountains: for Nymphs, ſays Hermias (Comment. MS. in Plat. Phædrum), are goddeſſes preſiding over regeneration, and are the attendants of Bacchus the ſon of Semele. On this account they are preſent with water; that is, they aſcend as it were into, and rule over generation. But this Dionyſius or Bacchus ſupplies the regeneration of every ſenſible nature. Νυμφαι δε εισιν εφοροι θεαι της παλιγγενεσιας υπουργοι του εκ Σεμελης Διονυσου, διο και παρα τω υδατι εισι, τουτ' εστι τη γενεσει εκβεβηκασι. ουτος δε ο Διονυσος της παλιγγενεσιας υπαρχει παντος του αισθητου.

Page 59. *For a key belongs to Pluto.*] Pluto is a deity of a guardian characteriſtic; and of this a key is a very proper ſymbol. But the following beautiful account of this divinity, from the Scholia of Proclus on the Cratylus, will I doubt not be highly acceptable to the truly liberal reader: "Pluto is an intellectual demiurgic god, who frees ſouls from generation. For our

* For the ſhuttle is a ſymbol of *ſeparating power*.

whole

whole period receiving a triple diviſion, into a life under the dominion of Jupiter, which is prior to generation, into a life under the dominion of Neptune, and which is in generation, Pluto, who is characterized according to intellect, with great propriety converts ends to beginnings, forming a circle without a beginning or an end, not only in ſouls, but in bodies. Thus for inſtance, he eternally evolves the circulations of the ſtars, the motions of things in generation, and the like. But ſome erroneouſly analyſe the name of *Pluto* into *wealth from the earth, through* fruits and metals; and of *Aides**, into the *obſcure, dark,* and *terrible*. Theſe are now cenſured by Socrates, who aſſigns the ſame meaning to theſe two names; referring *Pluto*, as intellect, to *the wealth of prudence*, and *Aides* to *an intellect which knows all things*. For this god is a ſophiſt†, who purifies ſouls after death, and frees them from generation. For *Aides*, or, *the obſcure*, is not, as ſome erroneouſly interpret it, evil; ſince neither is death an evil, though *Aides* appears to ſome to be full of perturbation. But every thing intelligible is *obſcure*; and in this ſenſe *Aides* is better than every viſible nature. The lovers of body however, who viciouſly refer the paſſions of the animated part to themſelves, conſider death as ſomething terrible, and as the cauſe of corruption: but in reality it is much better for a man to die, and live in Hades according to nature, than to live with body contrary to nature, and prevented from energizing intellectually. Hence, it is neceſſary to ſtrip ourſelves of the fleſh‡ with which we are inveſted, as Ulyſſes did of his torn garments, and not, together with the indigence of body, clothe ourſelves with that which reſembles the veſtment of a mendicant. "*For* (as the Oracle ſays) *things divine cannot be obtained by thoſe whoſe intellectual eye is directed to body; but thoſe only can arrive at the*

* One of Pluto's names.

† The reader muſt be careful to conſider the word Sophiſt in this place in its primary ſenſe, viz. *one wiſe and learned.*

‡ i. e. We muſt purify ourſelves from a tendency to body.

ſeſſion of them, who, ſtript of their garments, haſten to the ſummit."

Page 62. *You will ſee elegies inſcribed on the reſt.*] Pauſanias frequently uſes the word ελεγειον *elegy*, in the ſame ſenſe as επιγραμμα, *an epigram* or *inſcription*. It appears, therefore, that this word has a more extended ſenſe than it is generally known to have. Hence, in conformity to the original, I have here and elſewhere uſed the word *elegies*, as ſynonimous with *inſcriptions*. Whether or not this ſenſe of the word has been noticed by any Lexicographer, I am not certain: it is not noticed by either Suidas or Heſychius.

Page 68. *And its right hand thunder.*] As Jupiter is the *Demiurgus*, or *artificer of the univerſe*, his ſtatue very properly holds thunder in one of its hands: for thunder, as we learn from Proclus, is a ſymbol of fabrication, proceeding through and vivifying all things, without injuring the purity of its nature.

Page 71. *Jupiter Laoetas.*] i. e. *The god of the people.*

Page 72. *Homer indeed relates, &c.*] The paſſages of Homer alluded to by Pauſanias are in Iliad 20. ver. 233. and Iliad 5. ver. 268, &c. The former of theſe paſſages may be thus tranſlated:

Faireſt of mortals, Ganymed divine,
Who for his beauty by the gods was ſnatch'd
From earth to heav'n, that he might bear the cup
Of Jove, and with the bleſt immortals dwell.

The latter is thus tranſlated by Mr. Pope:

Swift to Æneas' empty ſeat proceed,
And ſeize the courſers of ethereal breed:
The race of thoſe, which once the thundering god
For raviſh'd Ganymede on Tros beſtow'd,
The beſt that e'er on earth's broad ſurface run,
Beneath the riſing or the ſetting ſun.

But Ganymedes is the image of a man who leads an immaterial and intellectual life, inſtead of one wholly converſant with body and ſenſe. Hence he is ſaid to be the cup-bearer of Jupiter, becauſe

becauſe ſuch a man co-operates in a miniſtrant degree with the immutable providential energies of that deity. For nectar, which is the drink of the gods, ſignifies the exertion of immutable providence, and its proceſſion to the extremity of things. The truth of this is beautifully though obſcurely ſignified by Homer in the following lines, which form the beginning of the fourth book of the Iliad:

Οι δε θεοι παρ Ζηνι καθημενοι ηγοροωντο
Χρυσεῳ εν δαπεδῳ, μετα δε σφισι ποτνια Ηβη
Νεκταρ εῳνοχοει· τοι δε χρυσεοις δεπαεσσι
Δειδεχατ' αλληλους, Τρῳων πολιν εισοροωντες.

i. e.

"Now with each other on the golden floor
Seated near Jove, the gods converſe, to whom
The venerable Hebe nectar bears
In golden goblets, and as theſe flow round
Th' immortals turn their careful eyes on Troy."

For here their poſſeſſion of immutable providence is ſignified by their drinking nectar; the exertion of this providence, by their beholding Troy; and their communicating with each other in providential energies, by receiving the goblets from each other.

Page 74. *Homer.*] Iliad 19. ver. 266.

Page 76. *Hippias.*] The reader who wiſhes to ſee the arrogance of this ſophiſt humbled in the moſt maſterly manner, will find his wiſhes amply gratified, if he poſſeſſes any taſte, by reading the Greater Hippias of Plato, of which there is an excellent tranſlation by Mr. Sydenham.

Page 77. *They ſay that this bird is ſacred to the ſun.*] "There are many ſolar animals, ſuch as lions and *cocks*, which participate of a certain ſolar divinity, according to their nature; from whence it is wonderful to ſee how much inferiors in the ſame order yield to ſuch as are ſuperior, though they do not yield to them in magnitude and ſtrength. Hence they ſay that a cock is

very much feared, and as it were reverenced by a lion; the reason of which we can never assign from matter or sense, but from the contemplation alone of a supernal order. For from hence we shall learn, that the properties of the sun are more abundantly received by the cock than the lion. And the truth of this is evinced from hence, that the cock celebrates, and as it were invokes the rising sun, by his crowing, as if with certain hymns, when that luminary bends his course from the antipodes to us; and that sometimes solar angels appear in forms of this kind; and though they are in themselves without form, yet they appear with it, to us who are connected with figure. Sometimes, too, solar dæmons are seen with a leonine front, who suddenly disappear when a cock is placed before them. The reason of this is, because, in the same order, inferiors always reverence their superiors; just as the greater part of those that behold the images of divine men, are by the very aspect of these images terrified from perpetrating any thing base."

PROCLUS DE MAGIA.

Page 79. *Herodotus.*] Lib. vii.

Page 82. *For the Lydians who are called Persic.*] Kuhnius observes that the Persic Lydians were denominated from the Persian sacred rites pertaining to Mithras, which rites principally flourished in the Lydian cities Hierocæsarea and Hypæpa.

Page 82. *A magician entering into this cell, &c.*] The following curious account of magical incantation, from a very rare Greek MS. of Psellus, *On Dæmons according to the Dogmata of the Greeks*, will, I doubt not, be acceptable to the reader, as it elucidates the passage of Pausanias before us, and shews that magic is not an empty name, but possesses a real power, though at present this art seems to be totally lost. η γοητεια δε εστι τεχνη τις περι τους ενυλους και χθονιους δαιμονας φαντασι σκοπουσα τοις εποπταις τα τουτων ειδωλα. και τους μεν ωσπερ εξ αδου αναγουσα, τους δε υψοθεν καταγουσα, και τουτους κακωτικους. και ειδωλα αττα υφιστησι φαντασματα τοις θεωροις των τουτων. και τοις μεν ρευματα τινα εκειθεν κυμαινοντα επαφιησι· τοις δε δεσμων

ανεσεις

ανεσεις καὶ τρυφας, και χαριτας επαγγελλεται. επαγεται δε τας τοιαυτας δυναμεις, καὶ ασμασι καὶ επασμασιν. η δε γε μαγεια πολυδυναμον τι χρημα τοις ελλησιν εδοξε. μεριδα γουν ειναι ταυτην φασιν εσχατην της ιερατικης επιστημης. ανιχνευουσα γαρ των υπο την σεληνην παντων την τε ουσαν καὶ φυσιν, και δυναμιν καὶ ποιοτητα. λεγω δε στοιχειων καὶ των τουτων μεριδων, ζωων, παντοδαπων φυτων, καὶ των εντευθεν καρπων, λιθων, βοτανων, καὶ απλως ειπειν, παντος πραγματος, υποστασιν τε καὶ δυναμιν. εντευθεν αρα τα εαυτης εργαζεται. αγαλματα τε υφιστησιν υγιας περιποιητικα, και σχηματα ποιειται παντοδαπα· και νοσοποια δημιουργηματα ετερα. και αετοι μεν, και δρακοντες, βιωσιμοι αυτοις προς υγειαν υποθεσις· αιλουροι δε και κυονες, και κορακες αγρυπνητικα συμβολα. κηρος δε και πηλος εις τας των μοριων συμπλασεις παραλαμβανονται. φανταζει δε πολλακις, καὶ πυρος ουρανιον ενδοσεις, και διαμειδιωσι επι τουτων αγαλματα· πυρι δε αυτοματω λαμπαδες αναπτονται. That is, "*Goeteia*, or *witchcraft*, is a certain art respecting material and terrestrial dæmons, whose images it causes to become visible to the spectators of this art. And some of these dæmons it leads up, as it were from Hades; but others it draws down from on high; and these, too, such as are of an evil species. *This art therefore causes certain phantastic images to appear before the spectators.* And before the eyes of some, indeed, it pours exuberant streams: but to others it promises freedom from bonds, delicacies, and favours. They draw down too powers of this kind by songs and incantations. But *Magic*, according to the Greeks, is a thing of a very powerful nature. *For they say that this forms the last part of the sacerdotal science.* Magic indeed investigates the nature, power, and quality of every thing sublunary; viz. of the elements and their parts, of animals, all-various plants, and their fruits, of stones, and herbs: and in short it explores the essence and power of every thing. From hence, therefore, it produces its effects. And it forms statues which procure health, makes all-various figures, and things which become the instruments of disease. It asserts too, that eagles and dragons contribute to health; but that cats, dogs, and crows, are symbols of vigilance, to which therefore they contribute. But

for the faſhioning of certain parts, wax and clay are uſed. Often, too, celeſtial fire is made to appear through magic: and then ſtatues laugh, and lamps are ſpontaneouſly enkindled."

This curious paſſage throws light on the following from the firſt book of the Metamorphoſes of Apuleius: "Magico ſuſurramine, amnes agiles reverti, mare pigrum colligari, ventos inanimes expirare, ſolem inhiberi, lunam deſpumari, ſtellas evelli, diem tolli, noctem teneri." That is, "By magical incantation, rapid rivers may be made to run back to their fountains, the ſluggiſh ſea be congealed, winds become deſtitute of ſpirit, the ſun be held back in his courſe, the moon be forced to purge away her foam, the ſtars be torn from their orbits, the day be taken away, and the night be detained." For it may be inferred from Pſellus, that witches formerly were able to cauſe *the appearance* of all this to take place. I only add, that this MS. of Pſellus *On Dæmons* forms no part of his treatiſe *On the Energy of Dæmons*, publiſhed by Gaulminus; for it never was publiſhed.

Page 88. *Pindar.*] In his 6th Olympic ode, where Jamus is ſaid to have been the ſon of Apollo and Euadne.

Page 96. *Homer.*] The paſſage of Homer alluded to by Pauſanias, is Iliad 6. v. 407. in which Andromache ſays to Hector,

"O man divine, thy ſtrength will be thy bane."

Page 134. *Then follows Gorgias the Leontine.*] Of this Gorgias Plato thus ſpeaks in the Phædrus: "But ſhall we ſuffer Lyſias and Gorgias to ſleep, who placed probabilities before realities; and, through the ſtrength of their diſcourſe, cauſed ſmall things to appear large, and the large ſmall; likewiſe old things new, and the new old; and who beſides this diſcovered a conciſe method of ſpeaking, and again an infinite prolixity of words?"

Page 141. *Elaphias.*] The reader is deſired to read *Elaphios.* This word ſignifies *March.*

Page

Page 142. *The child became a dragon.*] This dragon must have been one of those dæmons κατα σχεσιν, or *according to habitude*, of whom we have made mention in a former note: for these are capable of assuming a variety of shapes, whereas *essential* dæmons retain the same shape immutably.

Page 145. *Wild beasts followed Orpheus, and stones came to Amphion.*] Nothing more perhaps is meant by this fable, than that Orpheus and Amphion by their great *wisdom* civilized men of a stubborn, intractable, and rustic disposition, and accomplished this by persuading them to build cities, and pay obedience to equitable laws. For *philosophy*, or the whole of *human wisdom*, is, as Plato beautifully observes in the Phædo, *the greatest music.*

Page 151. *Homer.*] Iliad 5. ver. 545.

Page 152. *With which she was accustomed to be present.*] In my Dissertation on the Eleusinian Mysteries, I have demonstratively shewn that the most sublime part of εποπτεια, or *inspection*, in these mysteries consisted in beholding the gods themselves invested with a resplendent light. It appears from the present passage, that in the mysteries of Diana that goddess was rendered visible to the eyes of the initiated; and in the following passage from Proclus (in Plat. Repub. p. 380) we learn that the gods were seen in all mysteries. εν απασι ταις τελεταις και τοις μυστηριοις, οι θεοι πολλας μεν εαυτων προτεινουσι μορφας, πολλα δε σχηματα εξαλλαττοντες φαινονται. και τοτε μεν ατυπωτον αυτων προβεβληται φως, τοτε δε εις ανθρωπειον μορφην ισχηματισμενον, τοτε δε εις αλλοιον τυπον προεληλυθως. i. e. "In all mystic sacrifices and mysteries, the gods exhibit many forms of themselves, and appear in a variety of shapes: and sometimes indeed an unfigured light of themselves is held forth to the view; sometimes this light is figured according to a human form, and sometimes it proceeds into a different shape." The beginning too of Callimachus's hymn to Apollo plainly shews that Apollo was beheld in his mysteries:

Οιον ὁ τω' πολλωνο; εσεισατο δαφνινος ορπηξ,
Οια δ' ολον το μελαθρον. εκας, εκας οστις αλιτρης,
Και δη που τα θυρετρα καλῳ ποδι φοιβος αρασσει,
Ουχ ορας; επενευσεν ο δηλιος ηδυ τι φοινιξ
Εξαπινης, ο δε κυκνος εν ηερι καλον αειδει.
Αυτοι νυν κατοχηες ανακλινεσθε πυλαων,
Αυται δε κληιδες· ο γαρ θεος ουκετι μακραν,
Οι δε νεοι μολπην τε κ̀ ες χορον εντυνεσθε.
Ω' πολλων ου παντι φαινεται, αλλ' ο, τις εσθλος.
Ος μιν ιδῃ, μεγας ουτος ος ουκ ιδε, λιτος εκεινος.
Οψομεθ' ω εκαεργε, κ̀ εσσομεθ' ουποτε λιτοι.
Μητε σιωπηλην κιθαριν, μητ' αψοφον ιχνος
Του φοιβου τους παιδας εχειν επιδημησαντος.

These lines are thus elegantly translated by Dr. Dodd;

See how the laurel's hallow'd branches wave!
Hark! sounds tumultuous shake the trembling cave!
Far, ye profane! far off! *With beauteous feet*
Bright Phœbus comes, and thunders at the gate;
See! the glad sign the Delian palm hath giv'n;
Sudden it bends: and, hov'ring in the heav'n,
Soft sings the swan with melody divine:
Burst ope, ye bars! ye gates, your heads decline!
Decline your heads! ye sacred doors, expand!
He comes! the god of light! the god's at hand!
Begin the song; and tread the sacred ground
In mystic dance symphonious to the sound.
Begin, young men! Apollo's eyes endure
None but the good, the perfect, and the pure;
Who view the god are great; but abject they
From whom he turns his favouring eyes away;
All-piercing god! in every place confess'd,
We will prepare, behold thee, and be bless'd;
He comes, young men! nor silent should ye stand
With harp or feet, when Phœbus is at hand.

So

So likewise Virgil, in his 4th Æneid, describes this ἐπιφάνεια, or advent of Apollo:

As when from Lycia, bound in wintry frost,
Where Xanthus' streams enrich the smiling coast,
The beauteous Phœbus in high pomp retires,
And hears in Delos the triumphant choirs,
The Cretan crowds and Dryopes advance,
And painted Scythians round his altars dance:
Fair wreaths of vivid rays his head infold,
His locks bound backward, and adorn'd with gold;
The god majestic moves o'er Cynthus' brows,
His golden quiver rattling as he goes.

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The adytum too of temples was the place in which the divinities appeared to the eyes of such as were properly prepared for so transcendent a vision, as the following passage from Plotinus evinces (Ennead. 9. lib. ix. p. 770.).—ωσπερ τις εις το ισω του αδυτου, εις τελειωσιν καταλιπων τα εντω ναω αγαλματα, ἃ εξελθοντι του αδυτου πρωτα γινεται θεωτα μετα το ενδον θεαμα, κ᾽ την εκει συνουσιαν, προς ουκ αγαλμα ουδ᾽ ειδωλον, αλλ᾽ αυτο. i. e. "Just as one who having entered into the most interior parts of the adytum of a temple, leaves all the statues in the temple behind him (which on his departure from the adytum will first present themselves to his view after the inward spectacle), and then associates not with a statue or an image, but *with the thing itself*; viz. with a divine nature." From all which the truth of what Psellus asserts, in the passage already cited from his book On Dæmons, "*that magic formed the last part of the sacerdotal office among the Greeks*," is I presume perfectly apparent.

Page 157. *That of the moon has horns on its head.*] These horns were doubtless those of a bull. For the moon, in the Orphic hymn to her, is called *bull-horned;* and Porphyry De Antro Nymph. informs us, that the ancient priests of Ceres called the moon, who is the queen of generation, *a bull.*

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Page 159. *Homer.*] Iliad 5. ver. 395. It is remarkable that not one of the tranſlators of Homer has noticed the manner in which the Eleans underſtood the ἐν πυλῳ in one of theſe lines. For by the Latin tranſlators it is rendered ad portam *inferorum*, i. e. *at the* gate of the infernal regions; and the Engliſh have followed the Latin tranſlators. However, as the ancients muſt be ſuppoſed to have underſtood the meaning of particular words in Homer better than the moderns, there can be no doubt but that the Eleans were right when they conſidered ἐν πυλῳ as ſignifying *in Pylus*.

Page 160. *Corybas.*] We are informed by the emperor Julian in his Oration to the Mother of the Gods, that *Corybas* is *the Sun*.

Page 161. *There is a cock on the helmet of the goddeſs.*] The true reaſon perhaps why Phidias placed a cock on the helmet of Minerva, is becauſe this goddeſs, as we have ſhewn in a former note, was called by the ancients *Health*; and a cock is ſacred to Æſculapius, who is *the god of health*.

Page 162. *Homer.*] Iliad 15. ver. 528.

Page 162. *Is an erect penis on a baſis.*] The reaſon why Mercury was repreſented by the ancients in this manner, is, as it appears to me, becauſe this deity unfolds truth and intellectual light, from its occult ſubſiſtence in the eſſence of the gods: juſt as that prolific power which is latent in ſeed is unfolded by the penis.

Page 165. *Homer.*] Iliad 2. ver. 576.

Page 176. *Homer.*] Lib. xviii. near the end, in the deſcription of the ſhield of Achilles.

Page 178. *It is an accurate repreſentation of an Ægyptian ſtatue.*] We are informed by Porphyry De Antro Nymph. that the Ægyptians placed all *dæmons*, not connected with any thing ſolid or ſtable, but raiſed on a ſailing veſſel. By this they doubtleſs intended to ſignify the connexion of theſe powers with the

flowing realms of generation. And hence we may infer that the ſtatue mentioned in this place by Pauſanias was an image of a *dæmoniacal* Minerva.

Page 198. *A fire there is than other fires more fierce.*] Kuhnius obſerves, that this proverb is mentioned by Plutarch, in his Life of Demetrius; by Homer, Odyſſey 19; and by Ariſtophanes in Equit.

Page 212. *When he ſays, &c.*] Plato ſpeaks to this effect in the 5th book of his Republic.

Page 214. *The mother Dindymene and Attes.*] Dindymene ſignifies *Cybele*, or *the mother of the gods*. But the fable reſpecting this goddeſs and Attes, or rather Attis (for ſo it is written by Harpocration, Suidas, the emperor Julian, and the philoſopher Salluſt), is beautifully unfolded by Salluſt in his golden treatiſe *On the Gods and the World*, chap. 4. as follows: "It is ſaid that the mother of the gods, perceiving Attis by the river Gallus, became in love with him; and having placed on him a ſtarry hat, lived afterwards with him in intimate familiarity: but Attis falling in love with a nymph, deſerted the mother of the gods, and entered into aſſociation with the nymph. Through this the mother of the gods cauſed Attis to become inſane, who cutting off his genital parts left them with the nymph, and then returned again to his priſtine connexion with the goddeſs.

"The mother of the gods then is the vivific goddeſs, and on this account is called mother: but Attis is the demiurgus of natures converſant with generation and corruption; and hence he is ſaid to have been found by the river Gallus, for Gallus denotes the Galaxy, or milky circle, from which a paſſive body deſcends to the earth. But ſince primary gods perfect ſuch as are ſecondary, the mother of the gods falling in love with Attis imparts to him celeſtial powers; for this is the meaning of the ſtarry hat. But Attis loves a nymph, and nymphs preſide over generation; for every thing in generation flows. But becauſe it is neceſſary that the flowing nature of generation ſhould be

ſtopped,

ſtopped, leſt ſomething worſe than things laſt ſhould be produced; in order to accompliſh this, the demiurgus of generable and corruptible nature, ſending prolific powers into the realms of generation, is again conjoined with the gods.

"But theſe things indeed never took place at any particular time, becauſe they have a perpetuity of ſubſiſtence: and intellect contemplates all things as ſubſiſting together; but diſcourſe conſiders this thing as firſt, and that as ſecond, in the order of exiſtence." For a further explanation of this fable, which being of the mixed ſpecies, belongs, as we are informed by Salluſt, to *myſtic ſacrifices*, ſee my tranſlation of the emperor Julian's *Oration to the Mother of the Gods.*

Page 223. *Homer.*] Iliad 21. ver. 446. The reader muſt carefully obſerve, that the Neptune and Apollo mentioned in theſe verſes were *heroes*, and not *gods*. With reſpect to the ſtatue of Apollo ſtanding on the ſkull of an ox, the meaning of this will be apparent from conſidering, that as the moon (as we have already ſhewn from Porphyry) is *the queen of generation*, Apollo, or the ſun, who is paternally all that the moon is maternally, muſt be *the king of generation*, of which a bull or an ox is a ſymbol. Hence his treading on the *head* of an ox ſignifies his dominion over the *realms* of generation, and particularly over its *ſummit*, *æther*.

Page 225. *The oracle in Dodona.*] Jupiter's oracle at Dodona was the moſt ancient of all the oracles of Greece prior to the Flood, and was reſtored by Deucalion after it. The Scholiaſt upon the 16th Iliad, v. 233, &c. informs us from a very ancient author, *Thraſybulus*, that Deucalion after the Flood, which happened in his time, having got ſafe upon the firm land of Epirus, prophefied in an oak; and by the admonition of an oraculous dove having gathered together ſuch as were ſaved from the flood, cauſed them to dwell together in a certain place or country, which from *Jupiter*, and *Dodona*, one of the *Oceanides*, they called *Dodona*. At Dodona there were brazen kettles, which it is ſaid were

were ſo artificially placed about the temple, that by ſtriking one of them the ſound was communicated to all the reſt. According to Menander, if a man touched them but once they would continue ringing the whole day.

But it appears to me, that the reaſon why braſs was dedicated in particular to Dodonean Jupiter, is becauſe this deity ſubſiſts according to a terreſtrial characteriſtic; and braſs, as we learn from Proclus, is a ſymbol of a reſiſting ſolid, or of earth. For earth receives the illuminations of all the gods. "And hence (ſays Proclus in Tim. p. 282) there are a terreſtrial Ceres, Veſta, and Iſis, as likewiſe *a terreſtrial Jupiter* and a terreſtrial Hermes, eſtabliſhed about the one divinity of the earth; juſt as a multitude of celeſtial gods proceeds about the one divinity of the heavens. *For there are progreſſions of all the celeſtial gods into the earth; and earth contains all things in an earthly manner, which heaven comprehends celeſtially.* Hence we ſpeak of a terreſtrial Bacchus and a terreſtrial Apollo, who beſtows the all-various ſtreams of water with which the earth abounds, and openings prophetic of futurity." Braſs indeed was employed by the ancients, as we learn from the Scholiaſt on Theocritus (Eidyl. 2), in all conſecrations and expiations, becauſe they conſidered it as ſomething pure, and endued with a power of expelling pollutions. And Euſtathius upon this line in the 18th book of the Iliad,

εκ ποντοιο θυραζε λινῳ καὶ ηνοπι χαλκῳ—

i. e.

Forth from the deep with line and *vocal braſs*—

obſerves, "that Homer makes uſe of the word ηνοπα, that is ενοπα, which ſignifies *vocal*, becauſe braſs is the only inanimate ſubſtance which ſeems to have a voice. And *the Pythagoreans ſay, that braſs accords with every diviner ſpirit;* and hence a tripod formed from this metal is dedicated to Apollo. Often too when the air is perfectly tranquil, and every thing elſe is ſtill, hollow kettles will appear to be as it were ſhaken."——

ηνοπα

ηνοπα λεγει τον ενοπα, ο εστι εμφωνον, μονος γαρ των αψυχων δοκει φωνην εχειν. καὶ οι πυθαγορικοι φασι τον χαλκον παντι συνηχειν θεοτερῳ πνευματι, διο καὶ τῳ Απολλωνι τριπους ταυτος ανακειται. καὶ εν νηνεμιᾳ δε πολλακις των αλλων ατρεμουντων, σειομενοις εοικε τα κοιλα χαλκωματα. But Hermias the philosopher, in his MS. Commentary on the Phædrus of Plato, gives us the following satisfactory information respecting the oracle in Dodona. The reader who is desirous of seeing the original of this passage, may find it in page 11 of the Collection of Oracles by Opsopoeus. "Different accounts are given of the Dodonean oracle; for it is the most ancient of the Grecian oracles. According to some, an oak prophesied in Dodona; but according to others, doves. The truth however is, that priestesses whose heads were crowned with oak prophesied; and these women were called by some *peleiades*, or *doves*. Perhaps therefore certain persons being deceived by the name, suspected that doves prophesied in Dodona; and as the heads of these women were crowned with oak, perhaps from this circumstance they said that an oak prophesied. But this oracle belongs to Jupiter, and that in Delphos to Apollo. With great propriety therefore are these oracles considered as allied to each other. For Apollo is said to be the assistant of Jupiter in the administration of things: and often when the Dodonean oracle appeared to be obscure, the oracle in Delphos has been consulted, in order to know the meaning of that of Jupiter. Often too Apollo has interpreted many of the Dodonean oracles. Priestesses, therefore, when in an enthusiastic and prophetic condition, have greatly benefited mankind by predicting and previously correcting future events; but when in a prudent state, they were similar to other women."

Page 227. *Homer.*] Iliad 23. ver. 584.

Page 233. *One of the nymphs belonging to the sea fell in love with him.*] We have shewn in a former note, that the last order of powers that are the perpetual attendants of the gods, and the proximate guardians of mortal natures, has a great sympathy with

with the objects of its care. It is not at all improbable therefore that a nymph of the sea was connected with Selemus, who when he died attracted to himself through intemperate desire a vehicle perfectly humid, by which he became bound as it were to a certain stream, and was therefore said to have been changed into a river by Venus.

Page 233. *He cut off the genitals of his father Heaven.*] The authors of fables invented images of divine concerns in imitation of Nature, who shadows forth by parts things destitute of all parts, by temporal eternal natures, by dimensions things void of quantity, by sensibles intelligibles, and so on. For these divine men *by preternatural concerns adumbrated the transcendent nature of the gods; by such as are irrational, a power more divine than all reason; and by things apparently base, incorporeal beauty.* Hence, in the fable alluded to in this place by Pausanias, we must consider *the genital parts* as symbols of *prolific power*; and *the castration of these parts*, as signifying *the progression of this power into a subject order.* So that the fable means, that the prolific powers of *Heaven* are called forth into progression by *Saturn*, who is a deity of an inferior order. The utility arising from fables of this kind, to such as properly understand them, is very great. For they call forth our *unperverted* conceptions of divine natures, give a greater perfection to the divine part of our soul, through its sympathy with mystic concerns, heal the maladies of our phantasy, and elevate it in conjunction with our rational part to supernal light.

Page 238. *Earthquakes.*] *Earthquakes, war, pestilence, famine*, and other contingencies, are employed by divinity as the lesser means of purifying parts of the earth: the greater means are *deluges* and *conflagrations.*

Page 243. *Homer.*] Iliad 8. ver. 203.

Page 247. *Homer.*] Iliad 2. ver. 574.

Page 255. *For at that time, men were guests of the gods.*] That is,

is, they led a divine and intellectual life, as belonging to the golden race.

Page 258. *Homer.*] Odyſſ. 5. ver. 272.

Page 258. *For the Arcadians call their Naiades, Dryades and Epimeliades.* Servius on the firſt Æneid diſtributes Nymphs into theſe claſſes: *Nymphs belonging to mountains are called Oreades; to woods, Dryades; thoſe that are born with woods, Hamadryades; thoſe that belong to fountains, Napæ, or Naiades; and thoſe that belong to the ſea, Nereides.* The Naiades are mentioned by Homer, Odyſſ. 13. ver. 104. For an account of theſe præfects of fountains, I refer the reader to my tranſlation of Porphyry's treatiſe *On the Cave of the Nymphs.*

Page 265. *Venus Melanis, or, the black.*] There can be no doubt but that *Celeſtial Venus* is ſignified by this epithet, and that ſhe was thus denominated becauſe ſhe proceeds from the goddeſs *Night.* For ſhe proceeds, as we have ſhewn in a former note, from the containing power of Heaven, which according to the Orphic theology is profoundly united with Night. Hence, Night in the Orphic hymn to her is called Κυπρις, *Cypris*, i. e. *Venus.*

Page 268. *But the goddeſs told Saturn that ſhe had brought forth a colt, &c.*] The ſecret meaning of theſe two divine fables reſpecting Jupiter and Neptune appears to me to be as follows: Saturn, who is an intellectual god, as we have before obſerved, eſtabliſhes in himſelf *the cauſe of motive vigour;* and through this *Neptune* acquires the perfection of his nature. For *a horſe*, as we have ſhewn in a former note, is an image of *motive vigour;* and *Neptune* is a deity who *evocates things into progreſſion.* And this is the meaning of Saturn ſwallowing a *colt*, while Neptune was privately taken away in order to be *reared.* In like manner, while Saturn eſtabliſhes in himſelf *the cauſe of an abiding energy*, *Jupiter* advances to perfection; becauſe *Jupiter ſubſiſts according to a vitally-abiding characteriſtic.*" Hence Homer repreſents

ſents Jupiter eſtabliſhed in himſelf, while the multitude of gods that proceed from him, at one time abide with their parent, and at another proceed into the univerſe, and providentially energize about mundane affairs. And this appears to be the meaning of the other fable. Pauſanias, therefore, is very right in conjecturing that theſe fables reſpecting Saturn contain ſomething of the wiſdom of the Greeks; for they are indeed replete with the ſublimeſt wiſdom, as the intelligent reader will eaſily perceive.

Page 269. *Homer.*] Iliad 2. v. 231. and Iliad 12. v. 202, &c.

Page 294. *Heſiod indeed in his Theogony makes mention of Styx.*] The lines alluded to in the Theogony are 383, &c. It appears to me that *Styx*, conſidered according to its firſt ſubſiſtence, is the cauſe by which divine natures retain an immutable ſameneſs of eſſence. It is ſomewhat ſtrange that Pauſanias ſhould be dubious whether Heſiod compoſed the Theogony, when it is cited as the production of Heſiod by Plato and Ariſtotle.

Page 295. *Homer.*] The paſſage reſpecting the oath of Juno is Iliad 15. v. 36; concerning Titareſius, Iliad 2. v. 755; and concerning the preſervation of Hercules by Minerva, Iliad 4. v. 366.

Page 299. *Homer.*] Homer in the eleventh Iliad uſes the word εἰλείθυιαι, i. e. *Lucinæ*.

Page 300. *That ſhe is the ſame with Pepromene or Fate.*] Pindar, in his ſeventh Nemean Ode, ſays that Lucina is the aſſeſſor of the Fates: and this is agreeable to the doctrine in the Orphic hymns. For the moon, or Diana, is according to theſe hymns the ſame with Lucina: and in the hymn to Nature, which, as we have before ſhewn, principally flouriſhes in the moon, that goddeſs is expreſsly called Pepromene.

Page 309. *Homer.*] Iliad 24. v. 527.

By the two veſſels placed by the throne of Jupiter, out of which he diſtributes good and evil to mankind, we muſt underſtand the two primary cauſes of good and evil to ſouls, which ſubſiſt in the intellect of Jupiter. I only add, that a *truly* wor-

thy man may be *truly* happy in the preſent life; and for a demonſtration of this important truth, I refer the reader to my tranſlation of *Plotinus on Felicity.*

Page 311. *From the Iliad.*] Lib. xxiii. v. 346.

Nothing can be more abſurd than the fable which theſe verſes allude to, if it is conſidered according to its literal meaning, at the ſame time that it is extremely beautiful when properly underſtood. In order therefore to underſtand its ſecret meaning, it is neceſſary to remind the reader of what I have before obſerved, that the proceſſions of a divine nature to the extremity of things, according to different orders and degrees, were ſymbolically called by ancient theologiſts mutations. Hence, by Neptune and Ceres changing themſelves, the former into a horſe, and the latter into a mare, and from connection with each other begetting the horſe Arion, nothing more is meant, than that a dæmoniacal Neptune and a dæmoniacal Ceres co-operated with the natural cauſes by which this animal was produced, in begetting him.

Page 311. *Antimachus.*] This Greek poet was a Colophonian. He wrote on the age and country of Homer; and, according to Plutarch, contended that Homer was his countryman.

Page 312. *Homer.*] Iliad 2. v. 607.

Page 321. *Minerva in the form of Melas.*] By Minerva here, we muſt underſtand a dæmoniacal power, belonging to the goddeſs Minerva, but of the loweſt order.

Page 322. *The battle between the giants and the gods, &c.*] By giants in the fable alluded to here by Pauſanias, ancient theologiſts occultly ſignified the laſt order of dæmoniacal powers, who on account of their proximity to the natures over which they preſide, and adhering to matter, contract contrariety, and an all-various diviſion; who, beſides this, partially preſide over material affairs, and diminiſh and diſperſe thoſe ſeparate powers which ſubſiſt uniformly and indiviſibly in their primitive cauſes. Hence, as the gods operate uniformly, indiviſibly, and with perfect

perfect impaſſivity, but theſe dæmoniacal powers, multifariouſly, diviſibly, and with paſſivity, this *oppoſition* between gods and dæmons was beautifully called by the ancient authors of fables, a *battle*. See this intereſting particular more fully unfolded from Proclus, p. 157, &c. of my Tranſlation of the Orphic Hymns.

Page 322. *Homer in the Odyſſey.*] Book x. ver. 120. The ſpeech of the Phæacian king is in Odyſſ. 7. ver. 204. We have before obſerved, that the Odyſſey is an allegorical poem: and if this be the caſe, there can be no doubt, but that the Phæacians, Cyclops, and *the race of giants* mentioned in the ſeventh book, are all beings ſuperior to the human ſpecies.

Page 339. *If indeed the gods are the ſources of good to mankind.*] The gods muſt neceſſarily be the ſources of good, becauſe *goodneſs* conſtitutes their very eſſence; ſo that every thing proceeding from them (and all things are their offspring) is naturally indued with the form of good. I only add, that Jupiter is not the ſupreme god, though Pauſanias ſeems to think he is, as the reader may be convinced by peruſing my Notes on the Cratylus of Plato.

Page 342. *The verſes about them are in the oath of Juno.*] i. e. in Iliad 14. ver. 278. The Titans are the ultimate artificers of things; and their monad is Bacchus.

Page 351. *Homer.*] Iliad 1. ver. 314.

Page 352. *Homer.*] Iliad 18. ver. 398, &c. In theſe lines, Eurynome is called the daughter of Ocean. And the Scholiaſt on the Caſſandra of Lycophron ſays that Ophion and Eurynome the daughter of Ocean reigned among the gods called Titans, prior to Saturn and Rhea; but that Saturn and Rhea vanquiſhed in wreſtling Ophion and Eurynome, and having hurled them into Tartarus invaded their kingdom. Boethius too, upon Porphyry, (lib. 3) thus writes: "Quantum ad veteres theologos, refertur Jupiter ad Saturnum, Saturnus ad Cœlum, Cœlus ad antiquiſſimum Ophionem, cujus nullum eſt principium." That is,

"According to ancient theologiſts, Jupiter is referred to Saturn, Saturn to Heaven, and Heaven to the moſt ancient *Ophion*, of whom there is no original." The Scholiaſt on the Prometheus of Æſchylus ſays nearly the ſame. This moſt ancient god *Ophion* is therefore, as it appears to me, the ſame with the Orphic *dragon*, the original of all things: for *Ophion* is doubtleſs derived from ὄφις *ophis*, *a ſerpent*. But of this dragon, Damaſcius, in his treatiſe περὶ ἀρχῶν, *On Principles*, gives the following account; "I likewiſe find in the Orphic rhapſodies, that the theology neglecting the two firſt principles (viz. æther and chaos) together with the one principle who is delivered in ſilence (i. e. the firſt cauſe) eſtabliſhes the third principle poſterior to the two as the original; becauſe this firſt of all poſſeſſes ſomething effable and commenſurate to human diſcourſe. For in the former hypotheſis, the highly reverenced and undecaying *Time*, the father of æther and chaos, was the principle: but in this *Time* is neglected, and the principle becomes a *dragon*." See more from Damaſcius, on the moſt intereſting of all ſubjects, in my Introduction to the Parmenides of Plato. I only add, that the Ophion with whom Eurynome is co-ordinate in the ſame manner as Rhea is with Saturn, muſt be conſidered as a proceſſion from the Ophion who is the ſame with the Orphic dragon.

Page 367. *Homer.*] Odyſſ. 6. v. 162, &c. theſe lines are thus tranſlated by Mr. Pope:

> Thus ſeems the palm with ſtately honours crown'd
> By Phœbus' altars; thus o'erlooks the ground;
> The pride of Delos.———

Page 368. *Homer.*] Odyſſ. lib. xi.

Page 382. *They ſay that Pan met Philippides.*] The Pan that met this Philippides was one of thoſe dæmons καλὰ χίσιν, of whom we have given an account in a former note. Reſpecting this Pan, Proclus obſerves as follows in Schol. MSS. in Cratylum;

tylum: Οἱ εἰσι και πανες τραγοσκελεις, οιος ην ὁ φανεις τῳ ημερᾳ δρομῳ φιλιππιδῃ, το παρθενιον διαμειβοντι ορος. και αθηναικαι ψυχαι σχημασι ποικιλοις χρωμεναι, και προσεχως υπερ τους ανθρωπους πολιτευομεναι· οια ην η αθηνα η τῳ οδυσσει κ᾽ τω τηλεμαχῳ φανεισα. οι δε πανικοι δαιμονες κ᾽ οι αθηναϊκοι, κ᾽ πολλα πλειον αυτοι οι θεοι απασης της τοιαυτης ποικιλιας εξηρηνται. That is, "There are Pans with the legs of goats, *such as was the Pan who, gently running along, appeared to Philippides as he was passing over the mountain Parthenius;* and souls belonging to Minerva, who change themselves into various forms, and proximately rule over mankind; such as was the Minerva who appeared to Ulysses and Telemachus. But Panic *dæmons, dæmons* belonging to Minerva, and much more the gods themselves, are exempt from all such variety."

NOTES

ON THE

THIRD VOLUME.

Page 5. *THAT Actæon might be torn to pieces by his dogs.*] We have before ſhewn, that a dog was conſidered by the ancients as the image of the diſcriminating and at the ſame time reproving power of the ſoul. And as Diana, or the moon, is the image of Nature, ſhe ſignifies in this fable the natural life, which is divided about the bodies of all animals, and which is the cauſe to all bodies of augmentation, nutrition, and generation. As a ſtag too is a moſt laſcivious animal, it muſt be conſidered as the image of a laſcivious life. The meaning of the fable, therefore, appears to be this. Actæon beholds Diana *naked;* i. e. his rational ſoul converts itſelf to the natural life which is ſuſpended from its eſſence, and which ſubſiſts in Actæon according to *a laſcivious habit.* Hence, by a converſion of this kind, the ſoul becomes wholly changed into a laſcivious life: and this is the meaning of Actæon being changed into a ſtag. But when this is the caſe, the rational ſoul becomes diſtributed by its diſcriminating power, conſidered according to its diviſible ſubſiſtence in the ſenſes; for the ſoul of ſuch a one is wholly engroſſed in ſenſible diſcrimination: and this is the meaning of Actæon being torn in pieces by his dogs.

Page 10. *He married Harmony, the daughter of Venus and Mars.*] We have ſhewn in a former note, that by Cadmus is meant the ſublunary world, or rather the deity of the ſublunary world; and this being the caſe, there is great beauty in conjoining with him *Harmonia*, or *Harmony*, the daughter of Venus and

and Mars. For Venus is the cauſe of all the harmony and analogy in the univerſe, and beautifully illuminates the order and communion of all mundane concerns. But Mars excites the contrarieties of the univerſe, that the world may exiſt perfect and entire from all its parts. The progeny, therefore, of theſe two divinities muſt be the *rerum concordia diſcors*, the *concordant diſcord*, or *harmony* of the ſublunary world.

Homer.] Odyſſ. 11. ver. 262.

Page 19. *Have ſeven gates.*] The names of theſe ſeven gates ſhould be read as follows: *Electræ*, *Proetidæ*, *Neitæ*, *Crenæa*, *Hypſiſtæ*, *Ogygiæ*, *Omoloides*. Nonnus, lib. 5. Dionyſ. informs us, that theſe ſeven gates were raiſed agreeably to the number and order of the ſeven planets; ſo that the firſt gate was aſſigned to the Moon, the ſecond to Mercury, the fourth to the Sun, under the appellation of Electra, a ſurname of Phaethon, the fifth to Mars, the third to Venus, the ſixth to Jupiter, and the ſeventh to Saturn. By this is meant, that the properties of the ſeven planets are participated by the ſublunary world. For as Cadmus is the deity of the ſublunary region, the city Thebes, which he is ſaid to have built, and in which, according to the fable, he reſided, muſt be an image of the body of the ſublunary world.

Page 27. *Pipes adapted to every kind of harmony.*] In one of my notes on the Cratylus of Plato, I have ſhewn from a paſſage out of the MS. Commentary of Proclus on the firſt Alcibiades, that the ancients far excelled the moderns in the practical part of muſic. This paſſage I ſhall here tranſcribe, as a comment on the words of Pauſanias before us. αι ορθαι πολιτειαι την αυλητικην απεςραφησαν. ουκουν ουδε ο πλατων αυτην παραδεχεται. το δε αιτιον, η ποικιλια του δε του οργανου του αυλου λεγω, ο και την τεχνην την χρωμενην αυτω απεφηνε φευκτον. και γαρ τα παναρμονια, και η πολυχορδια, μιμητα των αυλων εςιν. εκαςον γαρ τρυπημα των αυλων τριφθογγους ως φασι του ελαχιςου αφιησιν. ει δε και τα παρατρυπηματα των αυλων ανοιχθειη, πλειους. i. e. "Well-inſtituted polities reject the me-

lody of the pipe; and on this account Plato does not admit it in his republic. But the reaſon of this is the variety of this inſtrument, the pipe, which evinces that the art employing it ought to be avoided. For *inſtruments producing every kind of harmony*, and that inſtrument which conſiſts of many chords, are imitations of pipes; for every hole of the pipe emits (as they ſay) three ſounds at leaſt; but if the cavity above the holes of the pipe ſhould be opened, then each hole would ſend forth more than three ſounds." Olympiodorus too, in MS. Comment. in Phædonem, obſerves as follows concerning this pipe. ὁ ποιητης τον αυλον δεδωκε τοις τρωσιν, ουδαμου δε τοις ελλησιν. εμποδιον γαρ γινεται ου μονον τῳ διαλεγεσθαι, αλλα κ᾽ τῳ ακουειν, κ᾽ απλως παση λογικη ενεργεια ψυχης. διο κ᾽ η αθηνα η των αθηναιων πολιουχος των διαλεγεσθαι μονον επισαμενων απερριψε τους αυλους. i. e. "The poet (Homer) gives pipes to the Trojans, but by no means to the Greeks. For the pipe is not only a hindrance to diſcourſe, but to hearing, and in ſhort to every rational energy of the ſoul. Hence Minerva*, who is the guardian deity of the Athenians, who alone know how to argue, threw away the pipes."

Page 38. *Homer.*] The verſes alluded to are in Iliad 2. ver. 478, 9, and may be thus tranſlated:

> His eyes and head reſembling thund'ring Jove,
> Like Neptune was his breaſt, like Mars his *tone.*

Page 39. *The Iliad.*] Lib. 14. ver. 109.

Page 40. *Homer.*] Iliad 2. ver. 307, 310.

Page 44. *Homer.*] Odyſſ. 1. ver. 52, &c. Proclus on Heſiod, p. 90, beautifully obſerves, concerning the pillars of Atlas, that they ſignify his being allotted powers which in an undeviating manner ſeparate the heaven from the earth; ſo that the former revolves perpetually in an exempt manner about the latter; but earth being ſtably fixed in the middle, brings forth every thing maternally, which the heavens generate paternally."

* Alluding to the ſtory of Marſyas and Apollo.

Theſe

Theſe pillars therefore are images of diſterminating, and at the ſame time connecting powers, which by their efficacious vigour eternally prevent things on high from being confuſed with things below. Hence Atlas, who contains theſe powers, and who is one of the Tartarean gods about Bacchus, energizes not only according to a ſeparating power, which is the characteriſtic of the Titans, but likewiſe according to a connecting power, which is the characteriſtic of Jupiter.

Page 52. *Homer.*] Iliad 2. ver. 502.

Page 55. *Cabiri.*] It appears to me, that the celeſtial twins are no other than the Curetes, according to their mundane ſubſiſtence. For the firſt ſubſiſtence of the Curetes is, as we learn from Proclus, in that order of gods which is denominated by the Chaldæan theologiſts νοερος *intellectual*, and of which Saturn is the ſummit. Their next ſubſiſtence is among the *ſupermundane* gods, in which order they are called the *Corybantes*. And their third ſubſiſtence is doubtleſs that of *the twins*. For the Curetes in the Orphic hymns are celebrated as *the twins*. If this be the caſe, and the Cabiri are, according to the Scholiaſt on Apollonius Rhodius, Ceres, Proſerpine, Pluto and Mercury, they cannot be the ſame with either the Curetes, Corybantes, or Dioſcuri. For the Curetes, according to Proclus, are the guardian triad of the intellectual triad, Saturn, Rhea, and Jupiter, and he informs us that one of theſe Curetes is Minerva. The Corybantes, as we learn from the ſame author, are the guardians of the Coric triad, Diana, Proſerpine, and Minerva. And as to the Dioſcuri, or the twins, they are evidently different from the Cabiri mentioned by the Scholiaſt.

Page 57. *The Sphinx.*] The Sphinx, according to Laſus Hermioneus, was the daughter of Echidna and Typhon; and according to Clearchus, ſhe had the head and hands of a virgin, the body of a dog, a human voice, the tail of a dragon, the claws of a lion, and the wings of a bird. But it appears to me that the ancients, by the Sphinx, deſigned to repreſent to us the

the nature of the *phantaſy*. In order to be convinced of which, it is neceſſary to obſerve, that the rational ſoul, or the true man, conſiſts of intellect, cogitation (διανοια) and opinion; but the factitious man, or the irrational ſoul, commences from the phantaſy, under which deſire and anger ſubſiſt. Hence the baſis of the rational life is *opinion*, but the ſummit of the irrational life is *the phantaſy*. But the phantaſy, as Jamblichus beautifully obſerves, grows upon, as it were, and faſhions all the powers of the ſoul; exciting in opinion the illuminations from the ſenſes, and fixing in that life which is extended with body the impreſſions which deſcend from intellect. Hence, ſays Proclus, it folds itſelf about the indiviſibility of true intellect, conforms itſelf to all formleſs ſpecies, and becomes perfectly every thing, from which cogitation and our indiviſible reaſon conſiſt.

This being the caſe, as the phantaſy is all things paſſively which intellect is impaſſively (on which account Ariſtotle calls the phantaſy paſſive intellect), hence the head of the Sphinx is human, but at the ſame time of the feminine ſex; this ſex being the image from its paſſivity of irrational life. By the Sphinx having the body of a dog, the diſcriminating power of the phantaſy is implied: for a dog, as we have ſhewn before, is the image of the diſcriminating power of the ſoul (το διακριτικον της ψυχης). By her having the tail of a dragon, and the claws of a lion, the communication of the phantaſy with deſire and anger is ſignified. And her wings are images of the elevating powers which the phantaſy naturally poſſeſſes; for it is re-elevated, in conjunction with the returning ſoul, to the region every way reſplendent with light. But the riddles of the Sphinx are images of the obſcure and intricate nature of the phantaſy. He therefore, who is unable to ſolve the riddles of the Sphinx, i. e. who cannot comprehend the dark and perplexed nature of the phantaſy, will be drawn into her embraces and torn in pieces; i. e. the phantaſy in ſuch a one will ſubject to its power the rational life, cauſe its indiviſible energies to become diviſible,

and thus deſtroy as much as poſſible its very eſſence. But he who, like Oedipus, is able to ſolve the ænigmas of the Sphinx, or, in other words, to comprehend the dark eſſence of his phantaſy, will, by illuminating its obſcurity with the light of intellect, cauſe it, by becoming lucid throughout, to be no longer what it was before.

Hence we may ſee the propriety of the Egyptians placing a Sphinx in the *veſtibule* of the temple of Iſis, who is the ſame with Minerva. For what the phantaſy is in the microcoſm man, that æther is in the univerſe. But opinion may be called the veſtibule of the rational ſoul, and the rational ſoul is as it were the temple of that intellectual illumination which proceeds from Minerva. In this veſtibule therefore the phantaſy is ſeated. And in a ſimilar manner æther is ſeated in the veſtibule of that divine ſoul, which is ſuſpended from the deity of Minerva, and which may be called her temple. So that æther is the Sphinx of the univerſe.

Page 59. *Pamphus.*] Pamphus was an Athenian poet, contemporary with Linus, and is ſaid to have compoſed poems and hymns prior to Homer.

Page 59. *That Chaos was firſt generated.*] In my Introduction to the Parmenides of Plato, I have ſhewn that, in the opinion of all antiquity, γενέσθαι, in the verſe of Heſiod alluded to by Pauſanias, was conſidered as meaning *was generated*, though in all the editions of Heſiod this word is tranſlated *fuit*, as if the poet had ſaid, that *Chaos was the firſt of all things*. I ſhall only add at preſent from Simplicius De Cœlo, p. 147, "that Heſiod, when he ſings,

Chaos of all things was the firſt produc'd,

inſinuates that there was ſomething prior to Chaos, from which Chaos was produced. For it is always neceſſary that every thing which is generated ſhould be generated from ſomething. But this likewiſe is inſinuated by Heſiod, that the firſt cauſe is above all knowledge and every appellation."

Page

Page 64. *Mimnermus.*] Mimnermus was an elegiac poet of Colophon, and, according to Suidas, was the ſon of Ligyrtiades; but according to others he was a Smyrnæan. He flouriſhed about the time of Solon, and beſides elegies wrote on amatorial ſubjects, as we learn from Propertius and Horace. At preſent, however, nothing more than fragments of the works of this poet remain.

Page 64. *Linus.*] Linus, according to Suidas, was a poet of Chalcis, and the firſt that brought the knowledge of letters from Phœnicia to Greece. He taught Hercules letters, and is ſaid to have ranked as the prince of lyric poets. Two fragments are all the remains of his works at preſent.

Page 67. *That Orpheus was the ſon of the Muſe Calliope.*] How this is to be underſtood, the reader may learn by conſulting the note on p. 46. of Vol. I. of this work. For an account of Orpheus, ſee the Diſſertation prefixed to my Tranſlation of the Orphic Hymns.

Page 69. *With reſpect to the hymns of Orpheus, &c.*] Fabricius and others are of opinion, that the Orphic hymns which are now extant are the very hymns mentioned in this place by Pauſanias. But ſurely, if this were the caſe, Pauſanias would not ſay, *that the whole of the hymns of Orpheus does not amount to any conſiderable number*; for how can eighty-ſix, the number of the Orphic hymns now extant, be called an inconſiderable number?

Page 72. *They ſay that Narciſſus beheld himſelf in this fountain, &c.*] The fable of Narciſſus beautifully repreſents to us the condition of a ſoul converting itſelf to the phantaſy (for this is the meaning of Narciſſus hanging over the limpid ſtream), and in conſequence of this becoming enamoured with a corporeal life; or that life which ſubſiſts in body, and which is nothing more than the deluſive image of the true man, i. e. of the rational and immortal ſoul. Hence by an immoderate attachment to this unſubſtantial mockery and gliding ſemblance of the real ſoul, ſuch a one becomes at length wholly changed, as far as

is

is poſſible to his nature, into a plantal condition of being, into a beautiful but tranſient flower; that is, into a corporeal life, or a life totally conſiſting in the mere energies of nature. So that Narciſſus is the image of a ſoul converting herſelf to phantaſy, and through this becoming drawn under the dominion of ſenſe.

But it is here neceſſary to obſerve, that the death of Narciſſus is related by Plotinus and the anonymous author De Incredibilibus in Gale's Opuſcula in a manner different from that of Ovid. For according to them Narciſſus merged himſelf into the ſtream, through endeavouring to embrace his ſhadow, and diſappeared. The fable however is extremely beautiful, whether we conſider Narciſſus as changed into a flower or ſuffocated in the ſtream: "For (ſays Plotinus, Ennead. 1. lib. vi.) as he in the fable, who by catching at his ſhadow merged himſelf in the ſtream and diſappeared, ſo he who is captivated by beautiful bodies, and does not depart from their embrace, is precipitated not with his body but with his ſoul into a darkneſs profound and horrid to intellect, through which becoming blind both here and in Hades, he converſes with nothing but ſhadows."

Page 72. *As ſhe was playing and gathering flowers.*] For the meaning of this part of the fable reſpecting Proſerpine, ſee my *Diſſertation on the Eleuſinian and Bacchic Myſteries.*

Page 76. *Tireſias.*] What are we to underſtand by Tireſias becoming blind, through beholding Minerva? Certainly, that by a profound converſion of the eye of his ſoul to *divine wiſdom* he became abſtracted from corporeal viſion; and thus, by leading a life ſeparate from ſenſible inſpection, was fabled to be corporeally blind. Hence Tireſias is ſaid by Homer, Odyſſ. 10. ver. 493, &c. to be the only wiſe perſon in Hades, and to poſſeſs intellect though dead, through Proſerpine, while the other inhabitants of Hades are nothing more than flying ſhadows. For it may be truly aſſerted of ſuch a one, both in the preſent life and hereafter, that he alone is wiſe and endued with intellect, when

when contraſted with the multitude of mankind, who from being merged in the darkneſs of matter loſe all reality of eſſence, and may not only be called flying ſhadows, but *the dreams of ſhadows* *.

Page 81. *One of the ſeaſons.*] The names of the ſeaſons, according to the Orphic hymns, are *Eunomia* or *Equity*, *Dice* or *Juſtice*, and *Eirene* or *Peace*, concerning which three divinities I find the following beautiful paſſage in the Commentaries of Proclus on the Timæus, p. 275. οι θεολογοι την ευνομιαν ιστησησαν τη απλανει, το εν αυτη πληθος διακρινουσαν, κ᾽ εκαστον εστι της οικειας διατηρουσαν αει ταξεως. δια τουτο δε αρα κ᾽ τον Ηφαιστον υμνουντες τω ηρανω ποιητην, συναπτουσιν αυτω κ᾽ την Αγλαϊαν, ως αγλαϊζουσι φαεσι τον ηρανον, δια της των αστρων ποικιλιας. κ᾽ παλιν, τη μεν πλανωμενω την δικην ιφιστασι των ηρων, ως ωφειλουσαν την ανωμαλιαν κατα λογον εις ομαλοτητα περιαγειν. την δε Θαλειαν των χαριτων, ως τας ζωας αυτων αει θαλεις αποτελουσαν. τη δε υπο σεληνην, την μεν Ειρηνην, ως τον πολεμον των στοιχειων εξιωμενην, την τε Ευφροσυνην, των χαριτων, ως εκαστοις ενιδιδουσαν ραστωνην της κατα φυσιν ενεργειας.—— i. e. "Theologiſts place *Eunomia* over the inerratic ſphere, who ſeparates the multitude which it contains, and perpetually preſerves every thing in its proper order: and hence celebrating *Vulcan* as the fabricator of the heavens, they conjoin with him *Aglaia*, becauſe ſhe gives ſplendour to every part of the heavens, through the variety of the ſtars. And again, they place *Juſtice*, one of the ſeaſons, over the planetary ſpheres; becauſe this deity gives aſſiſtance to the inequality of their motions, and cauſes them through proportion to conſpire into equality and conſent: but of the Graces they conjoin with this divinity *Thalia*, becauſe ſhe gives perfection to the ever-flouriſhing lives which they contain. But they place *Peace* over the ſublunary region, becauſe this divinity appeaſes the war of the elements: but of the Graces they aſſociate with this divinity *Euphroſyne*,

* σκιας οναρ ανθρωπος. PINDAR.

becauſe

because she confers a facility of natural energy on each of the elements." Agreeably to this information, Neptune in the Orphic hymn to that deity is called κυμοθαλης, or *flourishing* in water, and χαριτωπα, or having *a graceful* aspect. *Law* is called *celestial*, and the founder of the stars: and *Justice* is said to connect dissimilars from the equality of truth.

Page 82. *Onomacritus.*] This poet was an Athenian, and according to Clemens Alex. lived about the fiftieth Olympiad. Many of the poems ascribed to Orpheus are said to have been written by this poet.

Page 82. *Homer.*] Iliad 18. ver. 382. But the verses cited from Homer in the same page are Iliad 14. ver. 275.

Page 84. *Homer.*] Iliad 13. ver. 301.

Page 87. *Trophonius and Agamedes.*] Cicero gives a different account of the death of these brothers: for, according to him, when they desired of Apollo that they might have that reward for building his temple at Delphos which he judged to be best for man, they were three days after found dead in their beds.

Page 90. *Homer.*] Iliad 5. ver. 709, and Iliad 9. ver. 381.

Page 97. *Homer.*] Iliad 2. and Odyss. 4. ver. 581.

Page 98. *The sceptre which Homer says Vulcan made for Jupiter.*] The verses alluded to here by Pausanias are in the second book of the Iliad, and are thus translated by Mr. Pope:

> The king of kings his awful figure rais'd;
> High in his hand the golden sceptre blaz'd:
> The golden sceptre, of celestial frame,
> By Vulcan form'd, from Jove to Hermes came:
> To Pelops he th' immortal gift resign'd:
> Th' immortal gift great Pelops left behind
> In Atreus' hand, which not with Atreus ends;
> To rich Thyestes next the prize descends;
> And now, the mark of Agamemnon's reign,
> Subjects all Argos, and controls the main.

We have observed in a preceding note, that certain statues were

were ſaid by the ancients to have deſcended from heaven, becauſe they were fabricated by a certain occult art. In a ſimilar manner, perhaps, this ſceptre was ſaid to have been made by Vulcan. But the Jupiter and Hermes that firſt poſſeſſed it muſt be conſidered as terreſtrial heroes: and this conſtruction being admitted, the apparent abſurdity in the hiſtory of this ſceptre vaniſhes.

Page 100. *Homer in the Odyſſey.*] Lib. xi. ver. 326; and lib. xv. ver. 459; and lib. xviii. ver. 294.

Page 110. *Homer.*] The firſt paſſage reſpecting Panopeus is Odyſſ. 11. ver. 580:

> Through Panope *delighting in the dance,*
> To Pytho journeying.

The latter is Iliad 17. ver. 306, and is thus tranſlated by Mr. Pope:

> Once more at Ajax Hector's javelin flies:
> The Grecian marking as it cut the ſkies,
> Shunn'd the deſcending death; which, hiſſing on,
> Stretch'd in the duſt the great Iphytus' ſon,
> Schedius the brave, of all the Phocian kind
> The boldeſt warrior, and the nobleſt mind:
> In little Panope, for ſtrength renown'd,
> He held his ſeat, and rul'd the realms around.

The verſes reſpecting Tityus are Odyſſ. 11. ver. 580. The tranſlator is Mr. Pope. In a preceding note we explained from Olympiodorus the meaning of the fable of Tityus. I only add, that the great earthlineſs of the prudence of Tityus ſeems to be implied by his being extended over nine acres of ground.

Page 114. *Became divinely inſpired from the vapour of the earth, and propheſied through the influence of Apollo.*] The following beautiful explanation of divination by oracles, from Jamblichus De Myſteriis, p. 72, &c. will I doubt not be highly acceptable to the liberal reader; as it not only unfolds the manner in which

the Delphic propheteſs predicted future events, but the manner in which this was accompliſhed by the propheteſſes in Colophon and Branchidæ; and ſatisfactorily ſhews us how the gods communicate prophecy to mankind.

"It is acknowledged by all men, that the oracle in Colophon gives its anſwers through the medium of water: for there is a fountain in a ſubterranean dwelling, from which the propheteſs drinks; and on certain eſtabliſhed nights, after many ſacred rites have been previouſly performed, and ſhe has drunk of the fountain, ſhe delivers oracles, but is not viſible to thoſe that are preſent. That this water therefore is prophetic, is from hence manifeſt. But how it becomes ſo, this (according to the proverb) is not for every man to know. For it appears as if a certain prophetic ſpirit pervaded through the water. This is not however in reality the caſe. For a divine nature does not pervade through its participants in this manner, according to interval and diviſion, but comprehends as it were externally, and illuminates the fountain, and fills it from itſelf with a prophetic power. For the inſpiration which the water affords is not the whole of that which proceeds from a divine power, but the water itſelf only prepares us, and purifies our luciform ſpirit, ſo that we may be able to receive the divinity; while in the mean time there is a preſence of divinity prior to this, and illuminating from on high. And this indeed is not abſent from any one, who through aptitude is capable of being conjoined with it. But this divine illumination is immediately preſent, and uſes the propheteſs as an inſtrument; ſhe neither being any longer miſtreſs of herſelf, nor capable of attending to what ſhe ſays, nor perceiving where ſhe is. Hence after prediction ſhe is ſcarcely able to recover herſelf. And before ſhe drinks the water, ſhe abſtains from food for a whole day and night; and retiring to certain ſacred places, inacceſſible to the multitude, begins to receive in them the enthuſiaſtic energy. Through her departure, therefore, and ſeparation from human concerns, ſhe renders herſelf pure, and by this means adapted to

the reception of divinity: and from hence ſhe poſſeſſes the inſpiration of the god ſhining into the pure ſeat of her ſoul, becomes full of an unreſtrained afflatus, and receives the divine preſence in a perfect manner, and without any impediment.

"But the propheteſs in Delphos, whether ſhe gives oracles to mankind through an attenuated and fiery ſpirit, burſting from the mouth of the cavern, or whether being ſeated in the adytum upon a brazen tripod, or on a ſtool with four feet, ſhe becomes ſacred to the god;—whichſoever of theſe is the caſe, ſhe entirely gives herſelf up to a divine ſpirit, and is illuminated with a ray of divine fire. And when indeed fire aſcending from the mouth of the cavern circularly inveſts her in collected abundance, ſhe becomes filled from it with a divine ſplendour. But when ſhe places herſelf on the ſeat of the god, ſhe becomes accommodated to his ſtable prophetic power: and from both theſe preparatory operations, ſhe becomes wholly poſſeſſed by the god. And then indeed he is preſent with and illuminates her in a ſeparate manner, and is different from the fire, the ſpirit, the proper ſeat, and in ſhort from all the apparent apparatus of the place, whether phyſical or ſacred.

"The prophetic woman too in Branchidæ, whether ſhe holds in her hand a wand, which was at firſt received from ſome god, becomes filled with a divine ſplendour, or whether ſeated on an axis ſhe predicts future events, or dips her feet or the border of her garment in the water, or receives the god by imbibing the vapour of the water, by all theſe ſhe becomes adapted to partake externally * of the god.

"But the multitude of ſacrifices, the inſtitution of the whole ſanctimony, and ſuch other things as are performed in a divine manner, prior to the prophetic inſpiration, *viz.* the baths of the propheteſs, her faſting for three whole days, her retiring into the

* That is, of an illumination which has no σχεσις, or *habitude* to any thing material.

adyta, and there receiving a divine light, and rejoicing for a conſiderable time—all theſe evince that the god is entreated by prayer to approach, that he becomes externally preſent, and that the propheteſs before ſhe comes to her accuſtomed place is inſpired in a wonderful manner, and that in the ſpirit which riſes from the fountain another more ancient god who is ſeparate from the place appears, and who is the cauſe of the place, of the country, and of the whole of divination."

Page 116. *In imitation of what Homer ſays reſpecting the Sirens.*] The deſcription of the Sirens is in the twelfth book of the Odyſſey, near the beginning; and is thus elegantly paraphraſed by Mr. Pope:

> Next where the Sirens dwell you plough the ſeas;
> Their ſong is death, and makes deſtruction pleaſe.
> Unbleſs'd the man whom muſic wins to ſtay
> Nigh the curſt ſhore, and liſten to the lay;
> No more that wretch ſhall view the joys of life,
> His blooming offspring, or his beauteous wife!
> In verdant meads they ſport, and wide around
> Lie human bones, that whiten all the ground;
> The ground polluted floats with human gore,
> And human carnage taints the dreadful ſhore.
> Fly ſwift the dang'rous coaſt; let ev'ry ear
> Be ſtopp'd againſt the ſong! 'tis death to hear!
> Firm to the maſt with chains thyſelf be bound,
> Nor truſt thy virtue to th' enchanting ſound.
> If mad with tranſport freedom thou demand,
> Be ev'ry fetter ſtrain'd, and added band to band.

Proclus, in Schol. MSS. in Cratylum, beautifully obſerves concerning the Sirens as follows:—"The divine Plato knew that there were three kinds of Sirens: the *celeſtial*, which is under the government of Jupiter; *that which is productive of generation* (γενεσιουργον), and is under the government of Neptune; and that which is *cathartic*, and is under the government of Pluto. It is common to all theſe to incline all things through an har-

monic motion to their ruling gods. Hence, when the ſoul is in the heavens, they are deſirous of uniting it to the divine life which flouriſhes there. But it is proper that ſouls living in generation ſhould ſail beyond them, like the Homeric Ulyſſes, that they may not be allured by generation, of which the ſea is an image. And when ſouls are in Hades, the Sirens are deſirous of uniting them through intellectual conceptions to Pluto. So that Plato knew that in the kingdom of Hades there are gods, dæmons, and ſouls, who dance as it were round Pluto, allured by the Sirens that dwell there."

But here a doubt may very naturally ariſe in the mind of the reader unſkilled in philoſophy, how the Sirens, who are divine powers, can be ſaid to be deſirous of connecting ſouls with generation, which is baneful to the ſoul. To this I anſwer, that the alluring power of the Sirens benefits impure ſouls, by ſubjecting them to generation; as their latent guilt is by this means drawn forth, and they are thus prepared for that puniſhment, which being inflicted for the moſt benevolent purpoſes, is in ſuch as theſe neceſſary to the acquiſition of a perfect life. But theſe divine natures benefit pure ſouls by their alluring power, becauſe through this they call forth the virtues of ſuch ſouls into energy, which would otherwiſe remain in a dormant ſtate.

Page 123. *Minerva Pronoia.*] i. e. *Providential Minerva.* Phurnutus informs us, that temples were raiſed in honour of *Minerva Pronoia*, becauſe this goddeſs is the ſame with the *providence* which ſubſiſts in Jupiter. I only add, that *providence* (προνοια) evidently ſignifies *an energy prior to intellect* (πρὸ νου), and is therefore an energy of the gods, who are ſuperintellectual natures.

Page 124. *Alcæus*] Was a lyric poet, who flouriſhed about the 44th Olympiad, and was contemporary, according to Herodotus, with Periander. His poetry was celebrated for its great reſemblance to that of Homer; but at preſent nothing but fragments of it remain.

Page 131. *The verſes of Homer.*] The iſland of Æolus is deſcribed in the beginning of the tenth book of the Odyſſey.

Page 133. *The Sibyl Herophile.*] Hermias the philoſopher, in his MS. Commentary on the Phædrus of Plato, has the following remarkable paſſage reſpecting this Sibyl. The reader may find the original of it in my tranſlation of the Phædrus, page 52. "The particulars which are reported about this Sibyl are ſo wonderful, that they have the appearance of fables. But indeed there were many Sibyls, all of whom adopted the ſame life, and all of them, perhaps through a certain rational cauſe, were called Sibyls: juſt as Hermes Triſmegiſtus, who often reſided in Egypt, is ſaid to have made mention of himſelf, and to have been called the third time Hermes. Three Orpheuſes alſo are ſaid to have exiſted among the Thracians. Perhaps therefore theſe Sibyls choſe theſe appellations from a certain communication and recollection; ſince this very Erythræan Sibyl, of whom Plato now ſpeaks, was from the firſt called Herophile. But they report that ſhe called every one by his proper name as ſoon as ſhe was born, that ſhe likewiſe ſpoke in verſe, and that in a ſhort time ſhe arrived at the perfection of the human ſpecies."

Page 143. *And in a lawleſs manner depopulate Aſia.*] It ſeems that the Gallic nation has been remarkable, from very early periods, for acting in defiance of law.

Page 149. *Homer.*] Odyſſ. 20. ver. 302.

Page 159. *Nor performing any of the ſacred ceremonies of his own country.*] Here too we ſee that the Gauls were at an early period remarkable for their impiety; and the ſame gigantic ſpirit rules in the breaſts of their deſcendants of the preſent day. Indeed the French ſeem at preſent to have greatly ſurpaſſed their anceſtors in impiety; for it is no where aſſerted that the ancient Gauls were profeſſedly a nation of atheiſts, though they acted in an irreligious manner. However, theſe effeminate, volatile, ſuperficial and lawleſs people, who after throwing off the barbaric

yoke of the *polluted piety* of the Catholics, have abandoned all religion, would do well to consider the following passage from the Commentaries of Simplicius on Epictetus, p. 200, and return at least to the belief of a supreme cause, ere they become a dreadful example to surrounding nations of that severe though necessary punishment with which atheism is inevitably attended. παντες ανθρωποι, ϗ βαρβαροι ϗ ελληνες, ϗ κατα τον προτερον απειρον χρονον ϗ νυν, καν αλλοι κατ' αλλ ς ενοιας, νομιζουσιν ειναι θεον, πλην Ακροθοιτων, ους ιστορει Θεοφραστος αθεους γινομενους υπο της γης αθροως καταποθηναι. ϗ ει δη τις αλλος εις η δυο κατα παντα τον προτερον αιωνα ιστορηται. i. e. "All men, both Barbarians and Greeks, as well in the infinite series of past ages as now, though according to different conceptions, have believed that there is a god, the Acrothoitæ excepted—who, as Theophrastus informs us, in consequence of becoming atheists were entirely absorbed by the earth; and perhaps one or two other nations, which may be recorded in history during the infinity of past time."

Page 170. *Know thyself.*] The soul that truly knows herself, knows that she possesses a knowledge which is situated between the universal perception of intellect, and the partial perception of sense. She must therefore be well acquainted with all the natures both prior and posterior to her own essence. And hence in self-knowledge all knowledge is comprehended. If this be the case, the number of mankind that possess this self-knowledge must be exceeding small. For there are five habits of the soul with respect to all knowledge; viz. *two-fold ignorance, simple ignorance, desire, search*, and *invention*: and the multitude are under the dominion of the two first of these habits, as they are either even *ignorant of their ignorance*, or at most are sensible of it without any *desire* to become wise.

Page 121. *Homer, in the abusive speech of Melantho to Ulysses.*] This speech is in Odyss. 18, ver. 327, &c.

Page 173. *Homer indeed.*] The verses respecting the pilot Phrontis

Phrontis are in Odyſſey 3. ver. 277, and are thus tranſlated by Mr. Pope:

Mean time from flaming Troy we cut the way,
With Menelaus thro' the curling ſea:
But when to Sunium's ſacred point we came,
Crown'd with the temple of th' Athenian dame;
Atrides' pilot, Phrontis, there expir'd
(Phrontis, of all the ſons of men admir'd,
To ſteer the bounding bark with ſteady toil,
When the ſtorm thickens, and the billows boil):
While yet he exercis'd the ſteerſman's art,
Apollo touch'd him with his gentle dart;
Ev'n with the rudder in his hand he fell,

Page 177. *Homer.*] In the 17th book of the Iliad, ver. 309, Homer ſays of Ajax that he broke the cavity of the coat of mail of Phorcys;

ῥῆξε δὲ Θωρηκος γυάλον.

Page 178. *Homer.*] Iliad 3. ver. 204.

Page 184. *This Bacchus, too, in my opinion, &c.*] The Bacchus, who firſt led an army to the Indies, muſt have been a hero who deſcended from the *god* Bacchus; and who knowing this, called himſelf by the name of his leading divinity.

Page 185. *Homer.*] The verſes reſpecting Theſeus and Pirithous are in Odyſſ. 11. and Iliad. 1. ver. 260.

Page 186. *The daughters of Pandarus.*] The verſes alluded to by Pauſanias reſpecting the daughters of Pandarus are in Odyſſey 20. ver. 66; and are thus tranſlated by Mr. Pope:

So, Pandarus, thy hopes, three orphans fair,
Were doom'd to wander thro' the devious air;
Thyſelf, untimely, and thy conſort, dy'd,
But four celeſtials both your cares ſupply'd.
Venus in tender delicacy rears
With honey, milk, and wine, their infant years:
Imperial Juno to their youth aſſign'd
A form majeſtic, and ſagacious mind;

With shapely growth Diana grac'd their bloom;
And Pallas taught the texture of the loom.
But whilst to learn their lots in nuptial love,
Bright Cytherea sought the bow'r of Jove
(The god supreme, to whose eternal eye
The registers of fate expanded lie);
Wing'd harpies snatch'd th' unguarded charge away,
And to the furies bore a grateful prey.

Page 187. *As Homer represents it.*] The verses alluded to by Pausanias respecting the grove of Proserpine are in Odyss. 10. ver. 510, and may be thus translated:

The groves of Proserpine, where poplars tall
And barren willows tremble o'er the deep.

Page 188. *His whole figure is that of a humble abject man.*] It is well said by Aristotle, in his Nicomachian Ethics, that all humble men are flatterers, and that all flatterers are humble. This base habit of the soul is confounded by most of the present day with modesty; though it is in reality as different from it, as the whining cant of some contemptible sectary from the magnanimous speeches of Achilles in the Iliad.

Page 191. *Pouring out the remains of the water into the perforated vessel, &c*] Plato in the Gorgias observes that the most wretched of those in Hades are the uninitiated, and that the employment of such consists in pouring water out of one perforated vessel into another. Pausanias therefore is right in conjecturing that these persons in the picture despised the Eleusinian Mysteries. For Proclus in Plat. Polit. p. 369, observes, "that the mysteries led back the soul from a material and mortal life, and conjoined it with the gods; that by intellectual illuminations they removed all the perturbation introduced by the irrational life; and exterminated whatever was dark and indefinite in the initiated, through the light proceeding from the gods." Not indeed that this was the case with all the initiated, for none but true philosophers could receive these advantages from the mysteries;

ries; but they purified in a certain degree all that were properly initiated in them, and on this account they were called medicines by Heraclitus. He therefore that deſpiſed the myſteries deſpiſed the means of becoming internally pure, and in conſequence of this both here and hereafter might be ſaid to live in Hades, and to be employed in pouring water out of one perforated veſſel into another. For ſuch a one lived in *obſcurity*, through being in a ſtate of ſervitude to the body; and was continually buſied in endeavouring to ſatisfy *the indigence of deſires* with the flowing nature of a corporeal life, which glides away as faſt as it is received into the ſoul from one deſire to another, and leaves nothing behind but the ruinous clefts through which it paſſed.

Page 197. *The tears of Iſis cauſe the Nile to increaſe.*] In a preceding note we have obſerved from Proclus that there is a terreſtrial Iſis about the divinity of the earth. I ſhall now further obſerve, from the ſame incomparable man, that tears were conſidered by ancient theologiſts as ſymbols of the providence of the gods about mortal natures; and hence this ſaying of the Ægyptians ſignifies, that the increaſe of the Nile is owing to the providential energies of Iſis, conſidered as co-operating with Veſta in the government of the earth.

Page 197. *Homer therefore appears to ſpeak truly, &c.*] The words of Homer alluded to by Pauſanias are theſe:

χαλεποι δε θεοι φαινεσθαι εναργεις.

Iliad 20. ver. 131.

Which I thus tranſlate:

O'erpow'ring are the gods when clearly ſeen.

And in rendering the word χαλεποι *o'erpowering* I am ſupported by the authority of Jamblichus, De Myſteriis, p. 50. η μην την γε λεπτοτητ· του φωτος οι μεν θεοι τοσαυτην επιλαμπουσιν, ως μη δυνασθαι χωρειν αυτην τους σωματικους οφθαλμους, αλλα η αυτο παρχειν των ιχθυων, τοις απο θολερας η παχειας υ,ροτητος εις αερα λεπτον και διαφανη αναπνοιις, και γαρ οι ανθρωποι οι θεωροι του θειου πυρος αναπνειν,

πνειν, ολιγοδρασουσιν, ως ιδειν φοινηται, και του συμφυτου πνευματος απο-κλινονται. i. e. The gods, when they appear, diffuſe a light of ſo ſubtle a nature, that the corporeal eyes are not able to bear it; but are affected in the ſame manner as fiſhes when they are drawn out of turbid and thick water into attenuated and diaphanous air. For men who behold a divine fire, as ſoon as they perceive it are ſcarcely able to breathe, and their connate ſpirit becomes incloſed in the fire." This paſſage may be conſidered as a comment on the above words of Homer; and at the ſame time ſhews that Pauſanias is miſtaken in his interpretation of them.

Page 200. *Homer.*] Iliad 2. ver. 529.

Page 200. *Herodotus.*] In Herodotus, p. 299, this city is called *Amphicæa*.

Page 212. *Homer.*] Iliad 2. ver. 517.

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Zanclæi, the inhabitants of Sicily, i. 404.
Zancle, *ib.*
Zanes, brazen ſtatues of Jupiter ſo called among the Eleans, ii. 61.
Zaraca, a maritime city of Laconia, i. 112. 319. 327.
Zeno, a victor in the Olympic ſtadium, ii. 127.
Zephyrium, the promontory, i. 255.
Zethus, iii. 11.
Zeuxidamus, the ſon of Archidamus, i. 268.
Zeuxippus, i. 152.
Zoetion, the city, ii. 336.
Zoeteus, *ib.*
Zypoetes, a Thracian, ii. 35.

ERRATA.

Page.	Line.	Vol.	
7.	4.	i.	For *Actæon* read *Actæus.*
9.	9.	i.	For *Leuctrica* read *Leuctra.*
41.	7.	i.	For *and Triton* read *of the lake Tritonis.*
72.	15.	i.	For *Salamina* read *Salamis.*
81.	21.	i.	For *having sent a messenger* read *being sent as a messenger.*
81.	23.	i.	Blot out the words *the messenger.*
82.	31.	i.	For *Parabystus and Trigonus* read *Parabystum and Trigonon.*
104.	9.	i.	For *vertebræ* read *patellæ.*
124.	6.	i.	For *Æantides* read *Æantis.*
138.	27.	i.	Instead of *But to the havens of the Corinthians they gave the names of Leche and Cenchrea,* read, *But Leches and Cenchreæ gave names to the havens of the Corinthians.*
227.	27.	i.	For *is called Themidus* read *is called the altar of the Themidæ.*
247.	11.	i.	For *became* read *becomes.*
324.	9.	i.	For *Platanistuntes* read *Platanistus.*
330.	9, 11, 14.	i.	For *La* read *Las.*
331.	19.	i.	For *Silenus who* read *Silenus whom.*

DIRECTIONS TO THE BOOKBINDER.

Place the two maps to face Page 1. Vol. I.
The picture of the Temple of Olympian Jupiter to face — 49.
The Tower of the Winds, — —
The Ionic Temple on the banks of the Ilissus, to face — 52.
The Monument of Lysicrates, to face — 53.
The Doric Portico, to face 61.

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